3 1761 04291 0174

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/memoirsvinch04baruoft

MEMOIRS
OF
BERTRAND BARÈRE

EDITIONS.

The ordinary Small Paper Edition is printed on specially-made fine laid printing paper.

5 copies of the Small Paper Edition are printed on Japanese vellum.

50 Large Paper Copies are printed on Arnold's unbleached hand-made paper, royal 8vo, with proofs before letters of the Portraits.

5 copies of the Large Paper Edition are printed on Japanese vellum, with proofs before letters of the Portraits in two states, namely, one impression on Japanese vellum and one on India paper.

CHATEAUBRIAND

F. JENKINS, HELIOG. PARIS

MEMOIRS

OF

BERTRAND BARÈRE

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY DURING THE REVOLUTION

NOW FIRST TRANSLATED BY

DE V. PAYEN-PAYNE

IN FOUR VOLUMES—VOLUME IV

175-041
10/11/22

LONDON

H. S. NICHOLS

3 SOHO SQUARE AND 62A PICCADILLY W.

MDCCCXCVI

ROCHESTER COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

REGISTERED

TRADE *MARK*

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL

1896

H. S. NICHOLS, PRINTER, 3 SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.

EDITOR'S NOTE

A BIOGRAPHICAL dictionary, prepared under the title of "Men of my Time," by Barère, as a sequel to his Memoirs, has furnished the foundations of this volume. The author adopted an alphabetical order; we have only deleted the less interesting items. The introductory remarks were penned in 1825. The portraits embrace the whole period from 1814 to Barère's death in 1841. Several show different dates of composition, and this is the reason of the contradictory judgments, which we have not attempted to amend. These portraits should be regarded as a sparkling conversation on certain proper names. Curiosity will be aroused as to what a leader of the Revolution thought of the men of his time and of the generation that succeeded them.

CONTENTS OF VOL. IV

PORTRAITS—	PAGE
Essay on Biography	1
Members of the Constituent Assembly	6
Biography of Barnave	10
Barras	12
Odillon Barrot	14
Barthe	17
Béranger	*id.*
Bertin Devaux	30
Beaumarchais	31
Bernadotte	34
Boissy d'Anglas	*id.*
Joseph Bonaparte	35
Louis ,,	36
Lucien ,,	37
The Bourbons	39
Count of Provence	*id.*
Count of Artois	52
Duke of Angoulême	61
The Condés	62
Boïeldieu	68
Brissot	*id.*
The Duke de Broglie	69
Marshal Brune	75
General Bugeaud	76
Buonarotti	78
Georges Cadoudal	80
Strafford Canning	81
George Canning	82
Carnot	87
Armand Carrel	106
Lord Chatham	*id.*
M. de Chateaubriand	108
André Chenier	133
Joseph Marie Chenier	134

PAGE

Clément 136
Condorcet 137
Benjamin Constant 138
Cousin 140
Danton 142
J. L. David 143
John Debry 148
Decazes 149
Delaborde 154
Camille Desmoulins 155
Droz 156
Dumouriez 157
The elder Dupin 162
Charles Dupin 170
Duvergies de Hauranne . . . . . *id.*
Duvivier 171
Fouché . . . . . *id.*
Fox 175
General Foy 178
Fréron 182
Gluck 185
Grétry . . . . . *id.*
Guizot 192
Houdon 202
Victor Hugo 203
Ingres 209
Ignard 212
Jefferson . . . . . *id.*
Joussouf Bey 223
Kléber . . . . . *id.*
Kosciuszko 226
La Chalotais . . . . . *id.*
La Fayette 227
Lally Tollendal 243
General Lamarque 245
Lamartine. 248
Charles Lameth 254
Malesherbes 256
Manuel 258
Marat 266
Maury 269
Metternich 273
Mirabeau 278

PAGE

De Montlosier 292
Thomas Moore 298
Joachim Murat 300
Necker 303
Ney 306
O'Connell 311
Casimir Perier 312
Pitt 322
Prieur 327
Rœderer 331
Saint-Just 333
His Military Notes 338
Sieyès 351
Madame de Staël-Holstein 360
Talleyrand 362
Talma 375
Thiers 378
Wellington 390

MEMOIRS

OF

BERTRAND BARÈRE

PORTRAITS

Portraits, when they are faithful, can give an idea of the passions which prevail in individuals, because these passions leave inevitable traces on the countenance. When the heart of a man is known, some of the dispositions of his soul may be read in the traits of his physiognomy, sometimes even his most fugitive impressions. To him who knows how to read it, the countenance is the mirror of the soul.

The external likeness can give an idea of the entire man when it is depicted by a good painter, and above all by an artist who has studied human nature, its affections, its passions, and its most pronounced tendencies, as did Le Brun in the seventeenth century, and David in the nineteenth. There are great painters and great sculptors who predicted what is now called phrenological science by applying to the moral and intellectual part the diversities of the human organisation.

Traces of passions and the impression of character

on the countenance reveal things which neither words, writings, nor actions tell of.

To him who can read countenances, the mysteries of moral, intellectual, and political life are no longer inscrutable; for him there is no hypocrisy of morals. Giambattista Porta, Lavater, and Gall have made curious observations, profound studies, and useful discoveries in this direction.

Nature has imprinted on the human face, and even on the constitution, characteristic signs that are closely or badly observed by men, which causes a great part of their errors, prejudices, deceptions, and a thousand and one frauds.

Thus men with short, pointed noses are extremely keen, clever and cunning dissemblers and intriguers.

In this class may be cited: among politicians, M. Pasquier: among soldiers, Marshal Macdonald; and among literary characters, M. Andrieux.

Social biography, the only kind beneficial to humanity, has not yet been written. Private biography has been written, mixed with that of a public nature; the biography of passions, interests, and parties has been drawn up. Social biography, which has neither pay to claim nor aid to hope for, which has need of neither calumny nor scandal, favours nor power, nor the benefits of subscription, deserves to occupy public attention and the meditations of an historian. This social biography aims at examining men of power, publicists, politicians, national orators, and statesmen contemporary with a great Revolution, and asking them this single question: "What does social condition owe to you? what have you done for the human race?" "They are dead," says the

unprincipled biographer; "they may be attacked, they will not refute me." They are dead! A cruel argument, which will be resented by the sons, the brothers, the wives, and the relatives of the dead ones whose lives you calumniate and whose ashes your cupidity and your vile passions disturb. Does there not exist then among men any personal interest, any esteem or affectionate regard for the dead whom you defame by order or through passion? Is not the primary source of our reputation that which we receive from our family and our predecessors, from the examples which they have given us, the services they have rendered the State, and from the glorious testimonies which they have thereby received?

The general taste in France for frivolous things, the desire to teach without work, and to learn without trouble, have brought dictionaries into vogue. The pleasure which satire, criticism, and still more calumny, give to the greater part of men, combined with the inclination which authors have to make volumes which would only contain a few pages, are the causes why the history of great men is nearly always damaged by useless details, atrocious calumnies, insipid narratives, and exaggerated or false facts. Biographies have made a monopoly of calumny and unjust criticisms against the works and persons of illustrious writers; the spirit of faction, of party, and above all of servility, has come once more to add its corruptions and its defamations to this species of biographical monopoly. It is the kind most in vogue from 1814 to the present time (1825).

It would be necessary to bring together the bio-

graphies of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, of the National Convention, and the Hundred Days' Chamber of Representatives, with the Spanish Cortes of 1812, 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1825, and also join thereto the principal leaders of the independents of South America from 1809 to 1825.

The following are a few of the materials which might serve for this work:

The portraits of our legislators from the 5th of May, 1789, to the 1st of October, 1791 (1792), the Constituent Assembly engraved and published at the time; biographies by contemporaries, written at Brussels and Paris; "The Spanish Gallery of Cortes," published at Paris in 1825, and at Brussels; "The History of the Revolution of Spanish America," translated from the English, with biographical notices, one volume octavo, to be obtained of Mongie, a bookseller at Paris.

This revolutionary biography would have to be prefaced by a short account of the political and military history of Europe from 1785 to 1814 and 1823, containing an account of the troubles of Holland and Brabant, the wars between Russia and Austria, the Ottoman Porte and Sweden, the partition of Poland, the French Revolution, and the crises and events which have been the outcome of it, the recent revolutions in Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, the double abdication of Napoleon and the re-establishment of the Bourbons in France by the allied kings, and the war against Spanish freedom in 1825, by Bigland, translated from the English, to be obtained also of Mongie.

There should be added "The Historic Summary

of the Political and Military Events which brought about the Spanish Revolution," by M. Jullian, one volume octavo, 1821, and the following might be the epigraph of such a work:

"It is important to remind all partisans of rights having their foundations in the past, that it is liberty that is ancient and despotism that is new."

Everyone owes a debt to posterity when he has been an actor in, or a spectator of, a revolution which has changed the moral, civil, or legislative state of his country; he owes, above all, the tribute of truthfulness and justice in his narratives and descriptions. It is thus that an honest writer ought to contribute in fixing for the future, always just, the opinion of men, things, and events; by rendering justice to talents, merit, and virtues, by criticising errors without bitterness or exaggeration of facts, by destroying calumnies and false interpretations, and by giving to facts their whole meaning and precision.

There is, from 1789 to the present time (the first quarter of the nineteenth century), an incalculable number of men and families in France who have fixed public attention by their actions, writings, opinions and votes in political matters and various phases of public liberty. All these men, all these families have a right to be known, appreciated, and judged with impartiality and full knowledge of motive. The enemies of liberty have an equal right to be judged with impartiality according to true facts and without exaggeration.

When a person has conversed with celebrated men, and been admitted to the intimacy of celebrated personages, he entertains the idea of reproducing in a bright and lively form of dialogue the familiar discourse

in which they have revealed themselves, their extempore conversations, unexpected confidences, the secrets of their souls, the inspiration of their genius, or the results of their place in society and civilisation.

The following is a glance at a few of my colleagues in the Constituent Assembly; it is followed by several sketches which will give a good idea of other contemporary celebrities.

MIRABEAU was a philosophical writer, a great public orator, energetic historian, profound statesman, and a true representative of the nation.

MONNIER, a lawyer of Grenoble, could contemplate nothing higher than the English constitution. A devoted partisan of Necker, he was infatuated with the idea, which was always rejected by the National Assembly, of establishing two chambers. He was a man better fitted for the bar than the platform.

THOURET, a lawyer of Rouen, had a rare analytical mind. He only mixed himself up with what he knew, viz., judicial procedure, and in it he learnedly developed all reforms.

CHABROUD, a clever lawyer and subtle doctor, was happily placed in the Investigation Committee, for which he made some noteworthy reports, dealing, among others, with the days of the 5th and 6th October, 1789.

LECHAPELLIER was a lawyer of Rennes, talented and full of sagacity, but a cold immoral man. One day when he had proposed a decree disapproved of by the Assembly, a deputy questioned it as being obviously unjust. "But not too unjust," replied Lechapellier coldly. The measure was rejected.

BARNAVE was a lawyer of Grenoble, and a public

orator endowed with a clear, positive, and reasoning eloquence, without imagination and without emotion, who never spoke except towards the end of debates, in order to fully master them and sum them up in the sense favoured by the majority of the Assembly. Mirabeau one day said to him, "Barnave, you have cold and steady eyes; there is no divinity in you."

Alexander Lameth was a member of the minority of the nobility, who united himself to the National Assembly at the beginning of June, 1789. He was better suited for intrigue than the tribune; moreover, he spoke little and worked much. He was jealous of the popular eloquence of Mirabeau to such a degree that he became disgusted with the tribune and had recourse to silence in 1790. Mirabeau described the Lameth, Barnave, and Duport party in these words: "*Silence with thirty voices.*" It might be said that he addressed the thirty tyrants of Athens. Later on he was their victim.

Charles Lameth was distinguished from his brother by the designation of "the brutal Menechmus." Alexander was called "the refined Menechmus." The party only employed Charles Lameth on occasions when it was necessary to combat the Right with strength of voice or the turbulent aristocracy of the National Assembly.

Duport, a former counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, was a political thinker who prepared what Barnave was to say at the tribune. He was the most dangerous, as well as the most able man in its secret councils; he very rarely spoke, but he drew up many instructions.

General Menou sincerely loved liberty; he em-

braced the Revolution in good faith. Being in the minority of the nobility, he followed the conduct and projects of Alexander Lameth, the visible chief of the party who regarded the two brothers as two new Gracchi.

Laborde, a financier, belonged to the party of Lameth, although he was of very patriotic opinions. He used to invite a certain number of the members of the National Assembly to his table, but he was more refined than intriguing.

Beaumetz, the former president of the Parliament of Artois, was talented and well versed in science. He exhibited an enlightened civism to the Assembly whilst he drew up the speeches which Louis XVI. read in solemn meetings. Moreover, these speeches were of a beautiful character and perfectly proportioned. No one knew the position and opinion of the Constituent Assembly better than M. de Beaumetz.

D'Eprémesnil, a former counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, was as intellectual as he was impetuous and passionate. Although he was seized in the grand chamber of Parliament by order of the King and afterwards exiled, he threw in his lot with the Court party; he even drew up in the Queen's cabinet, after the 20th of June, 1789, the speeches and ordinances of the royal meeting of the 23rd of June. Assisting at the National Assembly, he was the firebrand of the Right; he agitated the aristocracy against the immense democratic majority; but he never mounted the tribune.

Lepelletier de St. Fargeau, the former president of the Parliament of Paris, and the possessor of a considerable fortune in lands, devoted himself

to the worship of liberty by honestly and enthusiastically embracing the Revolution. He was a member of the Legislative Committee, and the author of several reforms in the penal code. In his version the criminal laws lost their inquisitive and barbarous character. He distinguished himself principally by the ideas, which he developed with energy and humanity, in favour of the abolition of capital punishment; his speeches remain as a model of philanthropic eloquence and political philosophy. The question was adjourned.

BARNAVE.

This young lawyer of Grenoble was fitted by his style of cool, lucid, and exact ability to be, more than any other deputy, an orator after the English manner. He did not read his speeches, he spoke them, and often improvised them.

The aristocrats, who possess the art of slandering, calumniating, and disgracing in an eminent degree, because they can neither raise themselves nor elevate others, the numerous aristocrats of the Constituent Assembly could not pardon him for having said that the blood of the enemies of the people sacrificed at Paris on the 14th of July, 1789, was not to be regretted. After the 14th of July the aristocrats, always ready to quarrel, to rouse indignation by lukewarmness, and to slander systematically, watched every occasion that Barnave mounted the tribune to reproach him with what he had said concerning the death of Foulon, Delaunay, and Flesselles, whom the people, being roused to indignation by the presence of a threatening army of sixty thousand men encamped at the Military School, had sacrificed to public exasperation and terror. It is known that Barnave, when he had patiently endured the insolent accusations which seemed to be aimed at the whole of the people, cried, in speaking of the aristocrats put to death on this great day, "*Was this blood then so pure?*" Doubtless these words, extorted by the habitual fury of the Right, were unseemly and not in accord with Barnave's

delicate and sensitive character. But the vindictive aristocrats altered the destiny of this very distinguished orator, whose ability and courage in defending the rights of the people they could not forgive. Barnave was only the more attached to the national cause, although all the papers and the speeches of the Right unceasingly and outrageously attacked him.

On the 26th of November, 1790, M. Brissot called Barnave in his journal an abettor of tyranny. This accusation was precocious and then slanderous. It was only, it is said, after the 21st of June, the date of the King's flight, that Barnave allowed himself to be beguiled by the Queen. The truth is that from this time he appears to have changed in character and political opinion. He declared himself one of the warmest partisans of the revision of the constitutional laws, and intrigued a great deal in the National Assembly to give Louis XVI. royal authority with the consent of the constitution.

Concerning the Jacobins, on the 2nd of December, 1790, M. Barnave sustained with great ability "that it would be impolitic to allow the National Guards to be made a separate corps, and that it would never do to separate the soldiers from the citizens."

What would he have said of the Empire at the time of the Revolution, and in 1831 after the days of July, 1830?

On the return from Varennes, Barnave was moved to pity at the condition of the King, and prepared for the Court that deadly revision which destroyed constitutional liberty. He worked with the Lameths to re-establish the ancient abuses and endow the monarchy with all its ancient power. They were the rivals and

enemies of Mirabeau, whom they very soon distrusted. They possessed the secrets of his moral character, and of the yieldings of his conscience, which they imitated and even surpassed.

BARRAS.

A provincial lordling, more occupied with sport than politics, and cast into the National Convention in the midst of the democratic movement, Barras was sent with Fréron as a representative to Marseilles, where they committed unheard-of barbarities. They took away from the Phœnician town its ancient name in order to call it the "nameless town," committed exactions, and on their recall only gave the public treasury an account of how their carriage had been overturned in a ditch, instead of the 800,000 francs which they were entrusted to deposit there. I am indebted for this fact to Cambon, the representative in charge of the Treasury. Accused by Robespierre of excess in his mission to Marseilles, he put himself at the head of the reaction after the 9th of Thermidor, and became one of the most violent persecutors of the republicans, whom he wished to surpass.

This reactionary spirit was the means of his being nominated to the Directory in 1795, and although he was idle and fond of pleasure, he mixed himself up with the affairs of the Executive Directory so far as to aspire to be its chief; or, at least, France thought so. He surrounded himself with reactionists and nobles. At one time he corresponded with the patriots in order to coax and deceive them; at another, he treated with those who had left the country, so as to make them change over and return. These tactics of governing by

two parties succeeded from the 18th of Fructidor to the 22nd of Floréal, but it was useless on the 18th of Brumaire. It is pretended that he possessed secret intelligence from outside sources, and that he wished to treat with Louis XVIII., but that the urgency of Barras was the cause of the failure of these clandestine negotiations. Too feeble and ignorant for a governor, he was but an inconsistent man, capable of a violent measure or a sudden attack. But his immorality never permitted him to know for what cause he seriously struggled. Although a voter for the King's death, he died at Paris. The law of 1816 forgot his vote and his existence.

By his will this ex-director left to his widow, M. Saint-Albin, and M. Paul Grand the task of publishing his memoirs from notes which he had made himself, and the sketches and documents which he collected when he was in power. The proceeds of the sale of these memoirs were to be shared by the three legatees and one Courtot, a former steward of Barras.

It is said that these memoirs contain curious and important revelations about facts and men who occupied the political arena during the agitated existence of the Executive Directory.

During the Convention Barras was only engaged on a scarcely praiseworthy mission to Marseilles, and he had his share in the Conventional reaction, until the cannonade of the Paris sections on the 15th of Vendémiaire, 1795.

Having become a director, he obtained a majority in the Executive Directory, and presided at the violent measures and alternating government which caused this monstrous administration to come to an end so

quickly. He corresponded with Louis XVIII. until the 18th of Fructidor, 1797, a day which is only noteworthy because Barras could not agree with the Bourbon as to the terms of a restoration. This swindler, Barras, wanted to be called a Marshal of France, which did not suit a king of the old system.

Barras went to bathe on the morning of the 18th of Brumaire; it was the only courageous act that he did during this political crisis. Moreover, he was despised by the victor of Saint-Cloud, exiled to Italy, and then kept at Paris during the Restoration by Louis XVIII. and Charles X.; whilst the other voters in the National Convention were outlawed, persecuted, and banished for ever.

Barras died at Paris in 1829. The government, according to its custom, desired to take possession of his papers; but this official theft had been forestalled by the gift by hand of the papers which, being still unprinted at the end of 1833, gave rise to a law suit brought by Courtot against the three legatees who accepted the duty of publishing them.

ODILLON BARROT.

This deputy, the son of an ex-member of the Convention, showed an attachment, supported by reason, to the principles of the revolution of 1789 and the sovereignty of the people. He thought that government was only possible with the strictest political probity. In his speeches he extolled the declaration of rights and the immortal results of the work of the Constituent Assembly. He joined with Labbey de Pompières, Lafayette, M. Dupont de l'Eure, and M. Lafitte in opposing the hereditary despotism of the

Bourbons. At the time of the revolution of July, 1830, he lived with Lafayette for two months, and was chosen to escort the three generations of kings to Cherbourg, when they were banished for ever from French territory. Having entered the administration with Dupont de l'Eure, he remained for a very short time Prefect of the Seine, and retired with his friends when the government refused to follow the liberal and nationalistic ideas. Being a member of the Chamber of Deputies, he proposed that the electoral qualification be fixed at fifty francs. He put himself at the head of the opposition, and opposed the granting of secret service money, which he denounced as a means of corruption. He presided at the famous banquet of Thorigny, and drew up and afterwards signed the report. Later he assembled a committee on electoral reform, to extend at last the rights unjustly restricted to a small number of copyholders.

Why did this splendid reputation of ability and liberalism commit self-destruction after the 1st of March, 1840? Why, after having denounced monopoly, did M. Barrot defend it? Why, after having proposed and organised a new system of electoral legislation, in a committee full of brilliant men, did he at the moment of battle desert the flag under which he had taken up arms?

It was he who said on the 12th of April, 1831, in the national tribune: "The English themselves recognise that we are riper for liberty than they are; of all people the French most deserve the greatest amount of liberty. It is this feeling of confidence which has always made us ask for a greater extension of political rights." And yet in 1840 he remained

silent before M. Thiers, who did France the injury of not being willing to acknowledge a hundred and eighty thousand electors out of thirty-four million inhabitants, whilst England had more than a million electors out of nineteen million inhabitants. It was not principles that M. Barrot lacked, but their application. He has been reproached with having wished to unite the honours of the opposition with the advantages of ministerialism, with having only played a part instead of displaying a character; but the public do not take costumes for manners, and addresses in the tribune for professions of faith.

M. Odillon Barrot was not a publicist: he distinguished himself at the bar in the defence of accused politicians. It was there his real ability lay, much superior to that he displayed in the national tribune. He was a talker and not a public orator; he was able to take a prominent part in the opposition, but without ever being a statesman; he was an eloquent Girondin. He took the golden mean between the liberals and the menials; he had been a public functionary, he wished to be a minister; he would do better for the public interest than the theorists were able to do; but he would not raise himself to the ideas and principles of free men. When he enunciated his principles at the patriotic meetings of Strasburg, of which town he had been nominated a representative, he was considered very much behind the political dogmas of the time. Besides, in departments like Paris, he showed unconquerable repugnance to republican government, a repugnance which he attributed to the majority of Frenchmen: this government, according to M. Barrot, could only meet with difficulties in France. This

lawyer deputy was a constitutional monarchist, but his constitutionality scarcely exceeded the two charters of 1814 and 1830, and he could not bring himself up to the standard of the constitutional monarchy of 1791.

BARTHE.

Having become ministers, the patriots of July described him as a renegade and devoted to absolute power; he took part in the ministry to which France owed its state of siege. After the sack of the Abbey of Saint-Méry, he suggested, on the occasion of the law of the 21st of January, that the good spirit of the deputies had been done away with by encouraging the fanaticism of legitimist peers, and dishonouring the revolution of 1789; he encouraged theorists of all shades and renegades of all ages to calumniate the men who saved France at the National Convention.

As a Minister of Justice he affixed his name to the laws against town criers and associations. He appealed to contemporary history by an obstinate spirit of violence and reaction.

BÉRANGER.

Political satire formed the subject of the old French ballads; it should be so under an absolute monarchy, which only left the nation the liberty of singing instead of thinking, speaking, writing, and printing. In France the nation was nothing; it only entered into political events to suffer, and only emerged from them to get laughed at.

The country party satirised Mazarin, who, being well acquainted with French levity and malice, piled on the taxes, but allowed them to sing. He was an

Italian. The pious censured the Regent, Philip of Orleans, who none the less continued the roasting of Dubois, the bankruptcy of Law, and the course of his unbridled debauchery.

Fundholders satirised the Abbé Terrai, who nevertheless persisted in his tax of three-twentieths.

Prisoners in the Bastille lampooned Madame Choiseul, Madame de Pompadour, and the minister of arbitrary warrants, La Vrillière de Saint-Florentin, but the Bastille did not become less full.

Courtiers ridiculed Turgot: he was an honest man, in charge of the finances. A man of probity and a good Frenchman is an intruder in the eyes of a wasteful and immoral court.

There was a couplet for each of these classes of society, the only compensation for obedience, impiety, ruin, and reform; they were allowed to laugh at what they had no pretension of stopping. In France mocking is allowed, but opposition is punished. Singers who pay are not dreaded by despotism. The great cultivation of scandal and ridicule was thus carried on by songs, carols, and ballads. The music of the French ever consisted only of ditties or street songs. The theatre spread the power of song by means of ballads with scenes and dialogues. Faults of character and domestic scandals were always the true domain of comedy; but political caprices, scandals protected by, and vices belonging to, social superiors frequently formed part of songs. The Court, its personages, vices, and crimes could not be arraigned on the stage without license or preliminary approval. The government would never grant royal permission for mockery and personal satire to anyone. It was only per-

mitted or tolerated to attack and denounce them on the sly, and to sing of them under disguise. To the French, satire in Alexandrine verse appeared very serious and very revengeful; it was not sportive to the French. They could not support a Boileau, and a Gilbert, who had so energetically held up the powerful vices of the eighteenth century to derision, they were allowed to die in hospital. The Roman people were irritated and did not cry out. Juvenal roughly corrected Roman ways, but the Frenchman laughs and is not exasperated; he requires songs according to his style of banter and malice. The satires of Juvenal were a national denunciation, the songs of France are public jesting. Poets take after their nations, because people always supply themselves with the poetry in their characters.

Béranger was inspired under the Restoration by the shame he saw depicted on our brows, and by the hatred which filled all hearts against those protected by Cossacks; but since the fall of the Bourbons there has been among Frenchmen neither hatred nor shame; there is contempt for all everywhere, and a seal of infamy on several brows.

France venerates the patriot Béranger, and cherishes the popular poet. Typographical luxury preserves his hymns, odes, songs, and masterpieces. Béranger remains silent; he knows his time and the men of this sad period. No one speaks ill of his silence, which is only too eloquent, on our present miseries and doubtful future. If a few people who are fond of the productions of his genius blame his present inaction, the greater number of Frenchmen approve it.

The people will always sing the songs of Béranger;

they are their cherished refrains which re-echo continually in meetings, studios, tea gardens, taverns, the theatre, family feasts, and in the street. The ballad writer of the people has alone found the poetical means of moving the hearts of French people.

Under the government of Louis Philippe all the friendly voices of the country became silent; the streets of Paris had been repaved. Béranger also saw his voice obliterated. His lyric genius seemed to have emigrated from France. This national poet, who but lately sang with a noble enthusiasm of the alliance of nations against the league of kings; Béranger who delighted so much to remind France of the grand days of her victories, her noble mission of civilisation and liberty; he who in all the evil days of the nation consoled her reverses and grief by the remembrance of her dignity and everlasting glory, now appears dumb and disenchanted. Fear and indifference seem to have taken possession of this fiery soul. Thus, after some months of the most heroic and generous revolt, the genius of Béranger has lost its noble flights; he no more has touching illusions of his native land and liberty; he has seen them betrayed by so much ambition and intrigue.

He has transformed songs into odes. Being a poet full of energy, greatness of soul, philosophy, and patriotism, he has instilled a noble and more exalted character into this style of composition. He has combined with the rarest talent the martial sounds of the lyre of Tyrtæus with the voluptuous strains of the lyre of Anacreon. The name of Béranger has become immortal through the most lyrical poems in the French language. Béranger moulded his verse to poetical satire

under the Empire; but he carefully guarded against showing his skill. Napoleon was too despotic, and had too much of that sensitiveness of power which is the malady of hereditary sovereigns as well as of kings by fortune. He was too fond of exclusive dominion, absolute power, passive obedience, and compulsory silence to tolerate the old French opposition by the ballad and the poetical Fronde. Although a Corsican and mostly Italian, he could not imitate Cardinal Mazarin.

Béranger contrasted the easy-tempered life of a petty king of Yvetot with the pomp of a sceptre, the crown of laurel, and the iron crown of an illustrious conqueror. He contrasted the glory of free France with the invasion and corruption of the foreigner and aristocracy; a great man with ordinary potentates and common emperors; and the heroic sentiments of liberty and the patriotism of the Revolution with the servility, deception, venality, and baseness which followed it. Béranger compared the sentiments and ideas of different times, and satirised the present by eulogising the past; consequently what enthusiasm there is in his poems has given them the character of odes, and what satirical gaiety they contain has preserved their character as ballads.

The new selection of Béranger, like the old, abounds in remarkable pieces. "The Song of the Cossack," "The Goddess of Liberty," "The Old Sergeant," "The Pensioner," "The Imaginary Journey," "Lafayette in America," and "The Swallows" are perfect little poems.

Men are never wanting for great occasions. When the scene of actions and characters is ready, superior

beings, writers, poets, orators, statesmen, and generals are born and seen suddenly to appear in the same way as, during the seasons favourable to vegetation, certain plants are observed to shoot up in the soils suitable for their production.

After the Restoration, Béranger restored its true function to the ballad, which was banished by the Consulate and the Empire. Under the Empire he had composed his "King of Yvetot," that graceful and spirited political satire which was the beginning of his opposition. Afterwards he wrote a song on each great contemporary event. In the midst of the calamities of France—twice overrun by a foreign army—Béranger extolled the glory of her soldiers, and even praised the power of the extraordinary man who elevated the nation while he oppressed it, and who made it illustrious abroad while he burdened it at home. In 1824, during the triumph of privilege, Béranger conjured up grand recollections of the Revolution, and stipulated for public liberty. He avenged that great Revolution freed from the crimes and opposition of the aristocracy; that national thought which was nobly occupied with the rights and dignity of the human race, and which, with the townspeople, artisans, and peasantry, victoriously opposed the old bands of the kings of Europe and the savage pulks of the Cossacks of the North; that heroic Revolution of the French nation which, by its example, prepared universal liberty and the emancipation of nations.

His ballads, inspired by patriotism, have a national character which agrees well with the honour and character of Frenchmen; in their literary aspect, they are equally pleasing to exalted minds and merry

souls, to graceful imaginations and to the melancholy. All the grandeur and force that there is in the sentiment of liberty, all that is sweet and gentle in domestic virtues, Béranger has expressed with that superior knowledge which so greatly assisted his genius and patriotism; moreover, his ballads have penetrated all classes of society: they are repeated in the humble cottage and in marble halls; they may be characterised by these two lines from one of his songs:

"Unto the poor they bring gladness;
The rich they save from weariness."

What distinguishes his songs as national productions is that they contain few which are not complete poems; far from being a string of thoughts connected by the chorus, they form fables, the invention of which is always lively and even original; moreover, they have afforded various images and agreeable subjects to designers and artists. The spirited pencil of Deverin could interpret them in a happy manner, and he is ingeniously associated with the ideas of Béranger.

The citizen-poet has employed his genius in the eulogy of our old annals, with the memory of a great and glorious despot, with patriotic sympathies, war carried on with abuses, civilising philosophy and national glory. These subjects have secured the popularity of the bard and the admiration of Frenchmen. Béranger, like La Fontaine, pleased every class of reader. The common people sing, and only see in his song what appears on the surface; men of exalted mind and refined taste discover in them a thousand beauties unperceived by others. The species

of sublime secret contained in all his odes, the mystery of which persons to whom poetical insight is unknown never discover, assures the future of this national poet, who employs epigram and irony, eulogy and satire, with the same skill and animation in making tyrants and abuses abhorred as in making his country and liberty beloved.

In France, the ballad cannot have the wise and skilful conduct of politics. It neither makes much of social illusions nor the demands of the day; it is naturally somewhat satirical and biting; it is familiar, frank, and bold; it was always a recognised thing in French manners to allow it to say things otherwise than they were written in parliamentary remonstrances or recited in the tribune of the Chambers. Béranger has bestowed upon the ballad all the depth of his talent and inspiration, all the sublimity and force of lyric poetry, and, more than that, an immense popularity to his joyous and lively choruses; he would have made Mazarin smile, and enraged Villele and Martignac, those Gascon ministers who would listen to neither reason nor joking. Béranger sang of his country and liberty, its sorrows, regrets, and humiliations with a truth so profound and simple that those in authority only found more interpretations on which to accuse the poet, and delivered him to Billot the King's agent (October, 1828).

The popular poet often saw at Sainte-Pélagie the spirited pamphleteer (Paul Louis Courier) who wrote to his wife in the month of October, 1821, in these terms: "The songs of Béranger, of which ten thousand copies were printed, have been sold in a week. Another edition is in preparation. They have taken

his situation away, and he laughs at them ; he will find another at a banker's or merchant's, or in private employ. He was simply a despatch clerk. One does not know whether he will be disturbed. I do not think so. He has, however, sung of things which could not be said in prose. The collection of his songs is a great event; he might well have a quarrel with Jean de Broe.[1] There are among these songs some which are truly good."

On the 8th of December, 1821, the public rushed to the law courts to hear the proceedings concerning the songs of Béranger. Seven years afterwards, on the 10th of December, 1828, there was the same crowding of the public on the second trial of the national poet. Béranger was condemned to nine months' imprisonment and fined 10,000 francs, the editor to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 500 francs. The *Gazette de France* denounced him, and its furious writings intimidated the King's ministers, who stirred up the ministers of justice to avenge the injuries of religion and royalty; or, in other words, the anxieties of a faction hostile to the Throne and the Church, whilst having the appearance of serving them.

Béranger, who had no other fortune than his genius, and to whom the suppression of his book was already a great fine, Béranger condemned for his songs to a fine of ten thousand francs! Behold the fate of the most lyrical and popular genius of this time! Posterity

[1] As a matter of fact Jean de Broe, advocate-general or attorney to the King, instituted proceedings against the national ballad writer, and had him condemned to a year's imprisonment with costs. In 1828 the same judicial and ministerial persecution was directed against the patriot-poet, and the two trials took place in the country where all finishes with song.

ought to know the names of his judges in the Court of Correction. They are M. Meslin, the president; M. de la Marnière, M. Collet de Beaudricourt, and M. Grandet, the judges. M. Champanhet, the King's attorney, was charged with the prosecution of the popular poet.

"The Souvenirs of the People," that ballad of the old woman of Champagne, is the popular epic of Napoleon, sung in all the hamlets ravaged by the invasion of the allies. Poetry so grand and sad has never been bestowed on the tomb of the prisoner of St. Helena: all his career is there.

In "The Gypsies," he depicts that wandering race who know not whence they came or whither they are going; he traces the philosophy and the rude, cynical, and wandering liberty of these adventurers, this lost people who are found everywhere. Béranger is as interesting as Goethe, as deep as Schiller, and as gloomy as Burger.

He is the most popular of poets, the most admirable translator of the sentiments of the great mass of the people, and the political writer who has known the range of opinion and the wishes of France best, and who has most worthily celebrated her glory and misfortunes, her generous liberty and invaded nationality; but in such a way as to rouse all the courage of, and electrify, all French souls.

He has had no imitators, although he is the most popular of poets. He has closed the list which he was the first to open. However, the path he trod with so much success is still open; noble inspirations are sung and will be sung for a long time yet in France. French spirit and national gaiety are not

prohibited; the seriousness and the grandeur of our historical studies, our literary criticisms, and our political debates, will not hinder the production of sublime and beautiful poetry. What great poet will follow the footsteps of Le Brun, Chénier, Victor Hugo, and Béranger as Rabelais, Requier, Molière, and La Fontaine have been succeeded? What is so difficult to detect is the particular form which Béranger has given in his verses to politics, satire, the popular cause, liberty, and even gaiety; it is this way of working up, this lyric fancy and inspiration of national spirit which the poet has employed in such a noble and useful way, that seem for a long time to be suspended. This fitness and felicity with which the genius of Béranger has used the ballad and the ode is a stroke of luck to our literature; few poets in France have as great a number of fine traits, of thoughts couched in sensible pictures, and short and ingenious comparisons put within reach of every intelligence, and placed in circulation among all classes of society. This praise is sufficient for his glory.

In the preface which Béranger put in front of his fifty-five songs, which he published in January, 1833, he indulged for the first time in digressions on politics, literature, the state of society, on poetry, and what he modestly calls his art of ballad making.

All those who have enjoyed Béranger's intimacy know with what skill he treats of all these matters in conversation. Then he exhibits a marvellous pre-eminence; he is not only the most popular poet and writer of his time, but also one of the most ingenious and fascinating conversationalists that can be met with in Parisian society. He was long sought after by

this society, which he constantly shunned, because he preferred seclusion and the friendship of a few simple young men, children of the people, whose faithful portrayer and cherished poet he was. This would-be fine society, which did not captivate Béranger, and which knows over what a vast number of exalted subjects his knowledge extends, has reproached him with not having, and not having wished, as it did, to mingle with the class of workers against the nation which they made use of. One could have wished that he had decided to close his poetical life with the advantages and importance of a public functionary. In his preface Béranger has devoted some very well written pages to explaining how it was he preferred his hermitage at Passy to a Parisian mansion, warmed and waited upon at the expense of the state and the people. Among its crowd of men of letters Paris would with difficulty have been able to show a writer as patriotic, intellectual, and, above all, as generous and disinterested as Béranger.

Béranger has not resigned his position as the people's poet. He has forsaken neither his genius nor his country. The untiring lying of Thiers, Mignet, Barthélemy, and many other ambitious persons has not been able to stop the French from once more listening to the popular strains of the most national and virtuous of their poets. He has yielded a new homage to the lyric muse, but a simple homage inspired by the love of his country, so full is he still of youth, charm, and independence.

Fifty-five small masterpieces compose the new collection of Béranger. His fancy keeps all imaginations on the alert, and makes his songs a formidable

power, so sublime and roguish is it in his charming choruses. He has persecuted with a cruel mockery the abuses and excesses of these second-hand monarchies, imported with foreign commerce or interior intrigue. There is original gaiety in his couplets, but there are also grave ones which contain serious warnings. He is by turns painter and prophet, satirical and joyous, political and patriotic, popular and sublime, lyrical and philosophical, but always the friend of the people and defender of the liberty of humanity.

He has raised the song into a kind of great historical or philosophical ballad, of which there was no idea in France before. He has made his appearance in republican ranks by his "Predictions of Nostradamus," and shown his sympathies by the eulogium of his friend Manuel, by his "Advice to the Belgians," and by the "Restoration of the Ballad."

The poet has cleverly attacked persons under the guise of things in "The Whitewashed Throne," "The Inner Court of Ministers," "The Vermin that gnaws the Royal Diadem," and "The Hereditary Appetite of the Ogre." Frenchmen have all noticed the shafts in these fine political pieces. There are also personal songs of familiar suggestion and fancy, such as "My Tomb," "Pass on, young maidens," "Prosperity," "Ugliness and Beauty," "The Daughter of the People," and "The Humming-bird," which is the familiar being of Béranger as the grasshopper was of Anacreon. This last volume, which is like the will of genius, contains the newest and most original beauties.

This rival of Anacreon, for a long time dumb in

the presence of triumphant French glory, so as to reserve himself for admiring and celebrating it in the hour of adversity, has come and courageously embraced the statue of his unhappy native land and taken the sacred fire from the altar and scattered it on every domestic hearth.

He is the singer of the nation's glory and the interpreter of its noble sorrows and lofty hopes; he is the most popular poet France has ever had; he is in intimate relation and perfect harmony with the sentiments, needs, and wishes of a great nation. The songs of Béranger are patriotic discourses with France, which, during his two legal captivities, consoled him for his spirit and public recognition, the only ones required by such talent and such a character.

> Avant qu'à ces regards la patrie immolée
> Dans la poussière tombe, il en est le soutien
> Par le glaive il la sert, quand sa lyre est voilée,
> Car le poëte est citoyen.
>
> *Poems of Saint-Beuve.*

Such were Petrarch and Dante. Milton fought kings hand to hand; Béranger sang of glory, his native land, and liberty in the midst of national grief. By singing of them Béranger has assuaged the sufferings of his country; he extolled the rights of citizens as long as the public cause was in danger.

BERTIN DEVAUX.

He was a wealthy Parisian with a fortune made by banking and stock-jobbing, and mixed himself up with speculating in literature. He was the proprietor of the *Mercure de France*, a monthly periodical, and only occupied himself under the Consulate and the

Empire in crying down the government. Napoleon had several times described M. Bertin Devaux as an enemy of France.

When the ignominious restoration of the Bourbons took place in 1814 and 1815, M. Bertin Devaux dismasked his batteries, and proved by his conduct and his *Journal des Débats* that he was one of the agents who preceded the re-establishment of the Empire and one of the most imperturbable supporters of absolutism and reactionary banishments. He published his numerous recantations in the *Débats*. Passing, after July, 1830, over to the camp of the victors, M. Bertin Devaux sat on the fence, upheld all false doctrines in his paper, was nominated Louis Philippe's Ambassador at The Hague in 1831, and afterwards a member of the Chamber of Deputies by the electors of Versailles. In order to obtain a ministerial portfolio, he continues to appear as the official organ of power and the echo of the golden mean in 1832, as he was one of the first and warmest agents of the Restoration.

BEAUMARCHAIS.

There is something exciting and interesting in his agitated and often romantic life, active and caustic mind, famous trials, great commercial enterprises, and his monument to Voltaire. The son of a watchmaker, his pleasant attainments had caused him to be admitted in his youth to familiarity with the daughters of Louis XV., in spite of his ignoble birth, and though he was what is called at court a nobody, exciting the envy and satire of the courtiers. He was an innovator at the theatre, and defended the drama by introductions, and better still by success. His piece

The Two Old Friends departed from the old scenic routine, in which only silly townspeople and unhappy kings could be allowed. He remained faithful to the cause of liberty although he was persecuted in its name.

He possessed more than anyone the faculty of getting out of embarrassments and removing obstacles; the latter furnished him with occasions to turn to account against his enemies an inexhaustible stock of jokes, proverbs, smart retorts, and poems. M. de Vaudreuil said of Beaumarchais, "This man is like a gun-flint, the more you strike the more it gives out sparks."

A volume of epigrams *à propos* of *The Marriage of Figaro* was issued against him. He had them re-bound, and wrote on the back, in golden letters, "Materials for raising my statue."

Beaumarchais appeared as an innovator at the theatre, boldly struggling against a debased and corrupt court. He seemed to proclaim a new era by exposing the social plagues of his time. His *Marriage of Figaro* was as much a political event as a literary one. This piece, which "drew" all Paris for several months, established a new and formidable power in France, namely, public opinion.

It cannot certainly be denied that Gilbert had great satirical fancy, although his wit sometimes lacked fitness and proportion. One day he made a cutting epigram against Beaumarchais, accusing him of having turned memoir into drama and drama into memoir. The partisans of Beaumarchais believed they read his praise in these lines. This witty writer had indeed the rare merit of having involved the judicial debates in ludicrous scenes, which furnished

him with the capricious notions of his adversaries, and carried comedy into the discussion of most abstract matters. In this the talent of Beaumarchais resembled that of Blaise Pascal in his famous "Provincial Letters." *The Marriage of Figaro* and *Tartufe* have both been for a long time prohibited by the Literary Censor's Office. *Tartufe* exposes the false saints of the seventeenth and those of the nineteenth centuries, who were revived with greater power in 1826. Figaro is the Aristophanes of the eighteenth century. He shows up and accuses the whole of society, and gives a reason for all the abuses of the old *régime*. It requires courage and audacity to lay bare the reign of Du Barry and the time of the *Parc aux Cerfs* and suburban dovecots of Paris. One needs to be bold to make the eighteenth century laugh at itself by presenting it with a faithful representation of its vices; in that Beaumarchais shares with Voltaire the honour of having been one of the precursors in literature of the French Revolution.

The Foolish Day's Work; or, the Marriage of Figaro is a scenic accusation, in one act, of the morals of the good old time which the old courtiers and dowagers regret. It is an eloquent pleading in favour of the rights of the working classes, insolently trampled under foot for several centuries by a few court valets and country squires. The hornets of Court, Church, and Castle devoured the French people with impunity.

Beaumarchais pictures the day of justice and reparation, when he made Figaro say:

> "De vingt rois que l'on encense
> Le trépas brise l'autel
> Et Voltaire est immortel."

In considering his dramatic talent, what strikes one first is the privilege of great writers of bringing into the world a family of new beings, the creation of their genius. All these personages are living, they are all faces with which we are acquainted. Figaro is the emancipated plebeian who takes up his industry again, of the advantages of which he was unjustly deprived, and who does not deny himself the pleasure of laughing at a ridiculous master ; Basile and Bridoison are seen everywhere where there are unfit judges and paid calumniators, dealing in baseness, living by intrigue, and only obeying their passions.

Beaumarchais has written memoirs animated with inexhaustible fancy and great eloquence: they are quite captivating to read.

BERNADOTTE

From a soldier became a general, then Marshal of the Empire; he was chosen by the states of Sweden to be their royal prince, and became very soon after King of Sweden. This old nation which had produced Charles XII., thus called a French soldier, a general of the Revolution, to succeed the descendants of Gustavus Vasa, so that by his example he might save it from the furies of factions and the imminent danger of foreign subjection.

BOISSY D'ANGLAS.

An approver of the abolition of the nobility, its titles and decorations, at the time of the Constituent Assembly, although really the tutor of the Count of Provence. Correspondent of Louis XVIII., when regent, then exiled king during the Republic, of which

he, Boissy d'Anglas, had voted the establishment and sworn to maintain. A member of the conservative senate and Count of the Empire; a member of the senatorial commission charged with protecting the liberty of the press and the individual, after the manner of Bonald and Peyronnet; a count of the Restoration as he had been of the Empire; a peer of France in 1814 under the restored Bourbons, as he was when Napoleon came back from the island of Elba, cleverly slipping, during the Hundred Days, the word kingdom into an amendment on the police law, that was discussed after the disasters of Waterloo (which was worth to him a eulogy of rare foresight from another peer, Thibaudeau).

Boissy d'Anglas has been praised by the royalists for his firmness on the 1st of Prairial, 1795; but he was at a post on the banks of the Rhine, which his master and correspondent, Louis XVIII., had assigned to him. He was president of the reaction, supported by the forty-eight sections of Paris.

M. de Montgaillard, in his new "History of France," speaks with commendation of the engagements which M. Boissy d'Anglais had with Louis XVIII., from the first days of the republican *régime*, to which he was bound by a solemn oath and by his office as representative of the people. But the royalists are like the Jesuits, they know neither plighted faith nor the nature of an oath.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

Joseph had in March, 1806, the chief command of all the French troops sent against Naples. He quitted that capital on the 3rd of April to go and

visit Calabria. He arrived at Cosenza on the 12th, and on the 13th received Napoleon's order to take the title of King of the Two Sicilies at Bagnara. He was received in this capacity at Reggio, whence he departed on the 20th to finish his circuit by passing through Taranto. It is well known what this strange making of kings brought about.

At Bordentown (United States of America) Joseph Bonaparte is exercising hospitality, having roads and dwellings made at his own expense, and two or three hundred yards of steep hills levelled. He prefers active and useful occupations to the life of luxury and showy idleness, so affected in France. He lives in the midst of the farmers of New Jersey, where he exercises his bounty without either ostentation or vanity; anyone can see him directing the workmen, who are very much attached to him, whether they are employed on his estate or on the public roads, for the improvement of which he has already sacrificed a great part of his fortune. He regards these undertakings as an obligation of gratitude for the protection and hospitality which he has received in the United States. A great number of Americans belonging to the labouring and industrial class have found employment near him, and it may be said that the growth of prosperity is already visible in the neighbourhood of Bordentown.

LOUIS BONAPARTE.

Louis Bonaparte abdicated the throne of Holland for several reasons: he wished to be quite Dutch and independent of the designs and whims, as well as of the policy, of Napoleon. He had peaceful tastes which fitted him more for an obscure and unknown citizen

than a king. Louis neither possessed enough talent for governing, nor enough energy for reigning. He could not remain long in the midst of the serious circumstances in which Holland was situated ; and the disturbance of commerce which, seeing peace departing on account of wars and endless alliances, impatiently endured the reign of a Bonaparte. Besides, Louis Bonaparte, while abdicating without the knowledge of his brother, fled from the throne as from a place stricken with pestilence, and went and took refuge at Gratz in Styria, where he lived in accordance with his inclination as a simple private individual. Napoleon's general who commanded his troops in Holland, wrote to the Emperor after the abdication of his brother Louis to reassure him by the measures he had taken to prevent the Dutch troops from taking any part in a foreign movement with which it was thought the party who had decided the king to abdicate was connected.

There was in fact at The Hague and at Amsterdam a Dutch party bound to the English government to get Louis to abdicate, and thus leave Holland to herself. The perfidious hand of England makes itself felt everywhere.

LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

Lucien Bonaparte was employed during the Revolution as a storekeeper in a little town in the south of France, and wished to give republican baptism to this obscure little market town ; he baptised himself, and signed "Brutus at Marathon." Among biographers and memoir writers there is only Madame Junot, Duchess of Abrantes, who has depicted him

with favour, and almost with admiration. She represents him as constant in his affections, although he had at first married the daughter of an innkeeper in Provence, and afterwards the widow of a stock-broker at Paris; constant in his principles, although he had taken advantage of his diplomatic position to make his fortune in Spain; although Napoleon paid his apostasy with a throne; and although this proud republican was made Prince of Canino by the grace of the Pope. In the autumn of 1800, under pretext of conspiracy, the First Consul caused Arena, a Corsican and commissioner for war, Ceracchi, a Roman sculptor, Topino-Lebrun, a distinguished painter, one named Chevalier, and the young Demerville, who had been ill for two months, to be arrested. The First Consul himself brought forward the proceedings, from which it appeared that Lucien was not a stranger to the plot; it was he who had furnished considerable funds to Arena by means of bonds on the treasury.

Bonaparte made his brother Lucien (then Minister of the Interior) come to the Tuileries, and he had a very animated altercation with him. Lucien wished to divert the direct accusation made by the First Consul, by countercharging him with bad administration, and strongly expressed the thought that the consuls would ruin themselves by renouncing the Revolution, by acting contrary to the wish of the nation, and separating themselves from the sacred principles of 1789. The misunderstanding continued between the two brothers to such a pitch that in an interview with the First Consul, Lucien, pulling out his watch, broke it into a thousand pieces on the floor of the Tuileries, and went out exclaiming,

"Well! one day you will be broken up like that watch." Bonaparte was furious; he would no longer agree with the Minister of the Interior on any point of the elections or the administration; so he had to honourably get rid of this indiscreet ambitious minister.

Lucien was nominated ambassador in Spain, at the time of some diplomatic conferences held at Badajoz, to settle some differences that had cropped up between the Spanish, French, and Portuguese governments. The diplomatic zeal, the presence and signature of Lucien were dearly bought; for he demanded, as his allowances and salary as ambassador, the six millions which the Portuguese government recognised itself to be indebted to Spain by the treaty of Badajoz.

The truth, and it several times came out through the simple frankness of Josephine and her devotion to Bonaparte, the truth is, that neither the First Consul nor his wife thought themselves safe so long as Lucien was near them. But the natural astuteness of Lucien made him tell his friends, when leaving the administration of the interior to accept the embassy to Madrid, "I am going away; my counsels displease."

What counsels? History, which knows all things, will one day reveal them.

THE BOURBONS.

The Count of Provence was a libertine in his youth, then a literary man, then a court intriguer, then the secret enemy of the Queen, then ambitious of power, he extorted from Louis XVI. the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom, then a conspirator with the Marquis of Favras against the safety of the Constituent

Assembly, then a hypocritical patriot at the Hôtel de Ville, then a fugitive from Paris, then established at Coblenz at the head of the armed emigration, then a regent *in partibus*, then King of France and Navarre at Dillingen, Warsaw, and Mittau; then a refugee in England, organising civil war in the West, paying the Catholic army, exciting the royalist insurgents, and sending assassins on to the Continent to get rid of Bonaparte; promising the English government at Hartwell to deliver France over to it, with its territories and arsenals, to surrender all the united departments and the fifty-five fortified places occupied by French troops in Europe, paying for the military occupation of the soil by the allies; violating his own charter and fleeing on the return of Napoleon, coming back with a retinue of foreign luggage, and re-entering Paris from Waterloo to cover France with murders, proscriptions, and exiles.

The Count of Provence departed secretly at night on the 21st of June, 1791, at the same time as Louis XVI., the Queen, and Elizabeth. As no Frenchman had any regard for him, he got out of France *viâ* Valenciennes, Mons, and Brussels without encountering any obstacle to his departure, which was a public good, such a false, intriguing, and great political mischief-maker was he. On the 27th of August, 1791, he figured with the Count of Artois in the Congress or Conventicle of Pilnitz, the precursor of all coalitions. The preamble of this famous treaty runs: "His Majesty the Emperor and his Majesty the King of Prussia *having heard the desires and representations of the brother of the King of France and the Count of Artois*, jointly declare that they regard the situation

in which the King of France actually is, as an object of common interest to all the sovereigns of Europe." He went round begging all the European cabinets to wage war against his country with foreign bayonets, dragging in his retinue a court as miserable and vain as himself. He demanded from royal and imperial Europe his disgraced sceptre, whose blood-stained pieces accused him.

Base agent of the misfortunes of his brother, and insidious promoter of perfidy towards the nation, the Count of Provence contrived the anti-revolutionary proceedings of those who devoted themselves to him, and afterwards disowned, in the midst of the members of the Paris Commune, the actions and plots which he had provoked and paid for. He did not blush to deliver up to punishment the too credulous persons whose arms he had himself directed.

It was on the 19th of February, 1790, that the unhappy Marquis of Favras, unworthily abandoned, expiated on a gibbet his zeal and want of foresight. Ah! if the Frenchmen who left the country afterwards to serve other masters had been able to be together at the Luxembourg Palace on this fatal night, a single moment of this odious sight would have enlightened them concerning their hereditary idol: this spectacle would have opened their eyes and roused the indignation of their spirits. The witnesses of the following fact are all known at Paris, and M. Augeard, then secretary to the Queen, who had charged him to take note of all that passed at the Luxembourg, knew and told the names of all the courtiers of the Prince. The Count of L—— C—— had been sent by him to take part in the punishment

of Favras, to such a degree did his Royal Highness dread that this too devoted victim might speak and lose courage at the sight of the scaffold: it was necessary to sustain his constancy and strength until the last moment. A circle, small enough in numbers, met at the Luxembourg Palace; uncertainty and trouble were depicted on all faces; they awaited with trembling the issue of this bloody tragedy, the upshot of which might compromise more than one powerful personage. Nine o'clock strikes; the Count of L—— C—— arrives, and gives a detailed and faithful account of the last moments of the victim: he announces that his silence was not belied, and that Favras carried his fatal secret to the tomb. Calmness and serenity then re-enter all hearts, all terrors are dispersed, the master of the palace has already forgotten why the gallows has been set up on the Place de Grève; the innocent has been sacrificed, but the life of the prince is assured; what does it matter? A few days afterwards, amid a great crowd, he had a sumptuous repast served, and innocent blood did not trouble the torrent of wine and the impious joy of the guests. However, some days after, the prince was not reassured concerning his secret terrors; a pompous proceeding appeared to him to be necessary to disarm the suspicions which accumulated on his head. He betook himself to the Commune of Paris. He went of his own free will, no other circumstance requiring his presence; and there, in face of France struck dumb with astonishment, he exhumed the still smoking ashes of his victim, and abused his memory with the opprobrium which accompanies the name of traitors. . . .

There is nothing to add to the horror of this picture; each reader can add such reflections as will rouse his indignation.

This man was capable of anything, except clumsiness; one is not bound to believe all that is said of him. Moreover, it was narrated in drawing-rooms and printed in newspapers, that Louis XVIII. had enquired at what time Blucher would cross the bridge of Jena to assist him. But Louis XVIII. had too much cunning and spirit to speak of such absurdities, and much more to do them. His policy as a statesman was not founded on political science, but on a certain manner of governing which resolved itself into knowing how to slip in between the parties without noise and without shock, if not without intrigue and corruption. He had the appearance of interceding diplomatically with the allied kings and their ministers, to relieve France from the yoke of her enemies and the burdens of the Restoration; but his sole aim was to deceive her.

Such a situation for a prince who had had soul and honour, such a situation full of difficulty would have been impossible to support; but a heartless prince like Louis XVIII. joked and displayed his royalty amid fêtes and court balls among this horrible period of the Restoration.

A Bourbon is excused from having humanity: this race has no bowels. The reign of Louis XVIII., from the 8th of July, 1815, the date of his second entry, until the ordinance of the 5th of September, was a series of base actions, proscriptions, banishments, crimes, plunderings, and miseries. He had nothing so much at heart as the gratification of his pleasures,

of the old hatreds of Pilnitz, and revenges projected at Coblenz, Dillingen, Warsaw, Mittau, and Hartwell. He amused himself by bruising France, which was trampled upon by the princes of Europe; the emigration party butchered in the wake of the victor. Louis XVIII. occupied his leisure in making lists of exiles. His favourites pilfered after pillaging, encouraged as they were by the patron of all the plots and conspiracies against France to such a point that the foreigner, a witness and compulsory protector on account of such excesses during the military occupation, sometimes took pity on the victims. At the time of the condemnation of Marshal Ney the King was asked to commute his punishment. At half-past twelve Louis XVIII. replied that he wished to hear nothing. His state counsellor, the Duchess of Angoulême, had proved an hour previously the necessity of a great example. At the time of the condemnation of Lavalette, M. de Richelieu was stirred up by several peers to speak of it to the King, who replied, "M. de Lavalette appears to me to be guilty. The Chamber of Deputies demands examples, and I believe them to be necessary. I wish very much to grant his pardon, but reflect that to-morrow you will be harassed by the Chamber of Deputies, and we shall have fresh embarrassments." It was several times urged, but Louis XVIII. always gave the same reply: "Find a way so that the Chamber does not trouble us, and you shall have the pardon." There you have the artificial manner and the words of twofold meaning of this anti-revolutionary king. The interested and partial assertions of the historians of the Restoration should be referred to. Madame de Lavalette, throwing herself at the feet of

the King, in vain besought his pity. Louis XVIII. promised her nothing, and gave her to understand that justice would take its course. On the morrow Marshal Marmont, who had presented Madame de Lavalette, received a severe reprimand. The guard who had allowed her to enter was cashiered. Behold the clemency of Louis XVIII.! A woman then was all powerful, and it was the Duchess of Angoulême, who was never a Frenchwoman, but an Austrian, and as spiteful as her mother. Under Louis XVIII., who was at times a nominal king, in spite of his jealousy and mania for royalty, the Marsan wing governed alone by its palace intrigues and secret notes to the foreigner. The Duchess of Angoulême reigned there as sovereign with the Count d'Artois. In 1815 and 1816 she could count on three votes in the council of ministers.

Louis XVIII. was the least stupid and the most wicked of the Bourbons; he was also the most knavish and the most cowardly. Nature, in giving him his prodigious obesity, seems to have produced him expressly for sitting, without struggling and without effort, on an absolute throne, after being restored by bayonets and foreign hands. He trembled before a pile of pikes, but did not recoil before political crimes and banishments; they were necessary to his spirit of vengeance and despotic domination. He cordially despised the emigration party, whose chief and model he styled himself. He even despised the members of his family. Free from personal affection, he always viewed his position with an insolent egotism and a cold-blooded barbarity which allowed him to withdraw himself from an affair as a man more experienced than delicate. He used often to say with a bitter smile, in speaking

of his companions in exile, and even of his true friends at Court, "*They are very silly!*" He passed, it is true, for the witty man of the family.

He left to a thorough stupid, like the Count d'Artois, the imprudent vanity of rushing in the way of reactions and anti-revolutionary movements. He believed that this silliness was reserved for his brother, and used to say it aloud, so as to make it felt how superior in prudence and policy he was.

When the Bourbons were restored they were full of promises; later on, they kept none of them. It is the way of power, the lot of strength, and the moral code of legitimacy. When Louis XVIII. entered Paris on the 3rd of May, 1814, he signed, at the gate of the capital, at Saint-Ouen, a declaration of public and individual rights, or declaration of guarantees. But it was only an admission card, a permit to pass the barrier. These guarantees have been violated. It is State motive, the law of the strongest, it is said, which is the best, or rather the most forcible. When the charter of June 4th, 1814, was granted by Louis XVIII. he promised that nobody should be expelled, that all officers should retain their rank, all prefects and magistrates their places and their pay. The *ultra* party, who reign behind the throne, and who have more power than the crown, employed all the efforts of its aristocratic genius to destroy the effect of these promises and dispositions of the charter without there being any obvious and literal revocation of the *royal word*. The *ultra* party reasoned thus, and it was good enough for inattentive and credulous Frenchmen, who are governed by words, songs, and newspapers. The King has promised that no one shall

be dismissed, but he has not promised to preserve all institutions in their actual state; the only question was to reorganise them. To come to the point, an ordinance is first published declaring the dissolution of the army; the officers have no right to complain, since the army no longer exists. In the creation of a new army, the relatives and friends of the emigrants were alone nominated as officers. It was the same with the appeal court and the tribunals. Scholars and men of letters experienced the same fate; academicians were no longer so by merit, work, and choice, but by royal ordinance and the desire of a minister's private secretary. Nobody was dismissed from the Institute, but the scholars were only allowed to enter it by order. The same procedure was adopted in 1829 with regard to the professors and principals of educational institutions; none of them were dismissed, but fresh ones were exclusively authorised by diplomas. In this way indirect means are the surest and the only ones followed. No one will henceforth be dismissed, but no one will be admitted except ourselves and our friends. The powers called monarchies are delighted at having mingled so much cleverness with so much immorality. It is what they call putting wisdom into the exercise of power.

Insatiable ambition, vengeance, proscription, exile, capital punishment! there you have the life, the sole thought, policy, and religion of the Count of Provence. No truce, no repose! At one time he had himself nominated lieutenant-general of the kingdom by Louis XVI., and it required all the anger of the Austrian Queen to extort this usurpation of power from him. At another time, during his exile, he intrigued against

the King, and hastened his fall by the appeal which he made to the foreign powers at Pilnitz, Pavia and in the North. When the trial of the King was debated at the National Convention in January, 1793, he took part in overthrowing his brother. On the 21st of January, at Coblenz, he wrote to the Count d'Artois: "*At last the chief culprit is attacked.*" Is it thus one mourns the death of a brother when not of the race of Cain? Also when the restoration of Louis XVIII. was brought about by foreign bayonets, a French refugee in Belgium published in 1816 a pamphlet containing the correspondence of the exiled prince under this title, "*Louis XVIII., the assassin of his brother.*" When the Restoration King thought himself able to deceive public opinion on the death of Louis XVI., and the part he was accused of having taken in it, he thought of outlawing the members of the National Convention, so as to appease the paternal ghost by this tardy hecatomb. He wished after the 21st of January, 1815, to make a bloody sacrifice, in honour of vindictive royalty, of the members of the Convention who were in Paris. But the police of M. Dandré, a former member of the National Assembly, were also aware that the secret order of Louis XVIII. had been a brutal one. This sanguinary project fell through. . . . This monomania of vengeance and anti-revolution urged the former Count of Provence to all the excesses of despotism, exile, perpetual banishment, legal and arbitrary outlawry, torture, and arrest. To have Colonel de Labédoyère shot, to butcher Marshal Ney by the hand of his equals, to have the state councillor Lavalette condemned to death, all of this was only a stroke of his policy. He satisfied at the same time his

own brutal passions and the resentments of the allied kings and emperors; he lavished titled estates on his faithful accomplices and distributed a thousand million francs to his insatiable fellow-exiles. This nature of an implacable and hypocritical man is easily associated with the savage and pitiless nature of the allied kings and congress diplomatists. Besides, his reign was never tranquil; the National Guard was licentious, the courts of the provosts carried desolation and death into all places; and frightful catastrophes happened at Saumur, La Rochelle, Paris, and Lyons. This reign was a long satanic pilgrimage, a career of hatred and vengeance.

In the *Morning Chronicle* of the 25th of February, 1833, we read that at a public auction held at Evans's in London, there was sold a letter from Louis XVIII., in his own handwriting, written in 1789 to the Duke de Fitz-James to remind him that he had six weeks previously furnished him with indisputable proof that the children of Louis XVI. did not belong to that monarch. He urges him to present a motion on the subject to the Assembly of Notables, from which he himself would be absent, but at which his brother, the Count d'Artois, would be present. He adds that these proceedings will doubtless be disagreeable to the King, who is the plaything of his wife; and he concludes by putting this question in a very significant manner: "Does he deserve to reign?" This autograph letter has been bought as a very important historical fact by Messrs. Treuttel and Wurtz.

Louis XVIII. was one of the proudest and most

jealous of men. When he returned from Hartwell to Paris with the retinue of baggage of the allied armies, he found it inconvenient to leave the beautiful picture of the battle of Austerlitz painted by Gerard in the State Council Room at the Tuileries; but in view of the impossibility of spiriting away this masterpiece, which was too well known to the public, he thought of substituting his broad face for the beautiful head of Napoleon, wishing to make an ignorant posterity believe that he was the victor on this memorable day—a ridiculous parody on the insolent action of a Roman emperor who had the head taken off the statue of Jupiter to have his own placed on it.

In 1600 Charles II. consented to the exhumation of the body of the great Admiral Blake, and to its being burnt. Nations imitate the actions which tarnish them: all the European kings and ministers seem to have been cast in the same mould.

In the reign of Louis XIV. the Louvois party excited the populace of Paris to go and dig up the body of Colbert and drag it through the streets.

Colbert had established the navy, finances, commerce, industry, and the academies in the reign of Louis XIV. But Louvois had waged the ambitious and senseless wars of his master the King; he had degraded his reign by twice ravaging the Palatinate. Louvois was not disapproved of, and the corpse of Colbert was exhumed and outraged by the populace.

Louis XVIII. exiled and outlawed the celebrated painter David. He forgave him less for his two pictures of the coronation of Napoleon and the distribution of the eagles on the Champ de Mars than for his vote against Louis XVI. But Charles X. did more: he

outlawed David's remains; he gave orders on the frontiers that the customs should not allow the body of the illustrious painter to pass; he refused burial to David in his native land; and, although among all civilised nations, and even among savage tribes, hatred and vengeance cease and are pacified before the tomb, the royal passions in France outlawed David dead as well as alive. They did yet more, by withdrawing his fine pictures, his masterpieces, from the Luxembourg gallery, under the pretext of transferring them to the Louvre; but these pictures have not been exhibited in the gallery, they have been hidden in the lofts of the Louvre, under the pretence of restoration, but in reality to prevent the public from admiring David's genius.

Louis XVIII. had, besides, great timidity of character, arising from his natural cowardice. He supported the yoke of his court. He feared his brother d'Artois and his popularity with the insurgent party. He had enough sense to appreciate the evil that intrigue and court faction did him, but he dared not withdraw from it nor even face the principle. He did not like bad news, and consulted the oracles of general policy with mistrust and uneasiness. He had as favourites M. de Blacas and the clever M. Decazes, regarding one as a simple nobleman and the other as a plebeian tool.

He was the destroyer of Spanish liberty. His crafty policy hoped to be able to upset the granted charter if he succeeded in upsetting the constitution established by the Cortes. He should have employed for this abolition in France the same army that he directed against Spain, under the command of the

Duke of Angoulême. No liberty is compatible with the Bourbons, a despotic and worn-out race.

In his youth the Count d'Artois was a libertine; in his manhood he took part in all the plots or projects for the oppression and ruin of France. Out of the country he appeared to voluntarily consign himself to inaction and oblivion; so a nobody among foreign powers and in the camps of the emigrants, or at the court of the fugitive Regent, he only showed himself at the palace of Catherine II. to receive a sword set with diamonds (on this point see the "Memoirs of the Count of Vauban," printed in octavo, at Paris, under the consulate of Bonaparte). In France he left many debts and few memories.

He was a braggart in war. He went, he said, to put himself at the head of the Catholic army at Quiberon, and could not make up his mind to leave the Isle Dieu, whence he continually asked permission of Mr. Pitt to withdraw to England, and not disembark on the Continent. This is what was written by General Charette to the king *in partibus*, Louis XVIII.: "*The cowardice of your brother, the Count d'Artois, has lost all.*" Having become king after the death of Louis XVIII., Charles X. said that a king of France did not give up his sword when he got on horseback. When the revolution of July came Charles X. had no sword to give up; he dared not carry one. He hid himself at Saint-Cloud, and, instead of getting on horseback, he quickly jumped into a carriage and fled to take refuge at Rambouillet, where the victorious nation was content to send him, a dethroned king, with all his family, into perpetual exile. A vessel

from the port of Cherbourg carried him to Holyrood in Scotland, to die later on at Goritz.

M. Odillon Barrot, pleading in favour of the journal *Le Siècle*, said, "Charles X. spoke of his unalterable policy in his proclamation of 1829, in which he convoked the electoral colleges to escape the law which was imposed upon him by the address of the two hundred and twenty-one. He said that his resolution was immutable; that he was a constitutional king and the *father of his people;* that he would not change, and those who swerved from his path would be his personal enemies. The people did not change, neither did they wish; the contest became involved and the country decided it; the elder branch was destroyed and banished for ever. That is what the unalterable will of a man comes to, whoever he may be." In fact, Charles X. did not yield: he cannonaded his capital; and the nation drove Charles X. from French soil, together with the Dukes of Angoulême and Bordeaux.

Charles X. prided himself on causing his obstinate ignorance to be regarded as persevering will. Nothing could turn him from the despotic form of government to which he had been accustomed in his youth. By a sort of royal instinct he rallied to his backward progress the remains of the emigration party, the remnants of the sacerdotal and noble aristocracy, courtiers fed on abuses and waste, servile and greedy functionaries, men clever in diplomatic intrigue, privileged troops, and active and salaried adherents: such were the supports of his throne and power. For six years he found the Chambers docile or passionate. He saw himself supported by the

absolute power of Europe and the jealous ambition and rivalry of the British government, from which the two Bourbons who had left the country had the baseness to say they held their crown. He strengthened himself by a slavish indemnity to the emigrants, and paid for active and powerful interests; and yet he was carried away by the action of the democracy, whom he had always deceived, fought against, insulted, and outlawed. But this democracy is sovereign *de facto* and by right upon French soil.

On the 17th April, 1825, the minister of Charles X. published an Act in a strange form, which recognised the independence of San Domingo and its government. This Act responded to the interests and wishes of industrial and commercial France.

But Charles X. allowed the coronation to be made a Gothic, feudal, and theocratic solemnity, instead of making it congenial to the spirit of the age by uniting with the preservation of royal authority the preservation of national right and public and individual liberties; and he allowed the charter to be violated by the seven years' duration of the Chamber of Deputies, and the subjugation of the elections in the same way as the public power was upset by the financial system of abatement.

The first act of Charles X. (September, 1824) was to give liberty to the French press, because he could not disguise from himself the fact that the liberty of the press is necessary to the age and to civilisation, and because it is also the essential condition of representative government. This act seems to be that of a loyal heart, and prudent prince, and of a more exalted policy than that of his ministers, Jesuits and courtiers.

At the Palais de Justice may be read on the pedestal of the bust of Charles X. the remarkable words which he addressed to the magistrates of the royal court in 1824: "You give me in power what I have given you in dominion."

What power can the magistrates give to a monarch whose ministers expose with impunity the supreme decrees of justice to the attacks of mercenary writers, when these judgments acquit the constitutional journals?

In 1821, when the scheme of a law dealing with canals was proposed in the Chamber of Deputies, which delegated them to companies, the Count d'Artois opposed it, because he said he feared that the companies might have workmen in their pay to upset the government. The deputy Perreau told the legislative chamber on the 8th of January, 1832, that the same fear disturbed the government of M. Perier—a fear, moreover, as absurd as that of M. Jaubert of Bordeaux, a member of the ministerial majority, who said that the refugees could easily refuse the aid of the government, because they were certain of finding seditious societies who would give it to them. This strange speech was drowned in groans.

Good actions by kings are so rare that they ought to be registered when by chance one does appear. King Charles X. ordered MM. Gros and Pleger to go to Alexandria and Cairo to rescue the Greek prisoners taken by Ibrahim Pasha. They freed 500 of them; 300 were taken by their liberators to Paris on the 11th of December, 1828, and 200, finding themselves established among Christians, who treated them well, and their existence being assured, remained in Egypt

of their own free will. The deed of liberation was deposited by MM. Gros and Pleger in the keeping of the Patriarch of Alexandria, to use according to their wish.

The Count d'Artois made his entry into Paris exclaiming, "No more combined duties!" M. Lainé proceeded to show in the sitting of the peers of the 9th of May, 1829, that if this promise, emanating from royal lips, had not been realised, it was because the Chamber of 1814 recognised the impossibility of replacing the product of the combined duties by new taxes. That is the sordid argument with which exorbitant and oppressive taxes on property and consumers are upheld; that is the way the salt and tobacco monopolies are maintained.

M. Decazes added that, in spite of the royal insistence and that of the princes, the Chambers of 1814 voted for the continuance of the combined duties in order to relieve the burdens that pressed upon France at that time.

Leo XII. sent Charles X., by Prince Borghèse, a breakfast-table in mosaic, which represented the shield of Achilles (3½ feet in diameter). It is round in form and supported by eagles. Surely it was not for His Most Christian Majesty and the Pope that the genius of Homer described this hero's shield, which was derived from the gods and tempered in the Stygian stream! The artist who produced this beautiful mosaic was named Michael Kech. Fifteen workers in mosaic were employed upon this work in the workshops of St. Peter, at the Vatican.

Who could have believed that this ignorant and bigoted old King, who succeeded to the throne with

the aid of foreign armies, would have had energy enough to order the attack of the stronghold where the pirates of Algiers held out, and that he would also have taken in hand the project of obtaining the obelisks of Thebes and that of Alexandria from the Pasha of Egypt? It is, however, historic truth, to which Virgil's saying, "*Sic vos non vobis*," applies. Louis Philippe made the most of these two great deeds which preceded him. Impartial history ought to record the ordinance of Charles X., were it only on account of the wonder that such a deed should proceed from such a king. It was as follows:

"On the information of our Minister of Marine and the Colonies, we have ordered as follows: Baron Taylor will be sent to the Pasha of Egypt to negotiate the transfer of the obelisks of Thebes, and to have the obelisk of Alexandria transported to France at the expense of the Admiralty Department.

"Written at the Tuileries, on the 6th of January, 1830, in the sixth year of our reign.

"(Signed) CHARLES."

Charles X. was nothing more than a devotee and a sportsman. When, in May, 1826, his attorney-general, M. Billart, ventured to make some observations on the state of things, he replied that his path was mapped out; that Louis XVIII. and himself had received two different missions. "My brother," he said, "has created political institutions; I wish to create religious institutions. My brother did everything for liberty and the people; it is time that I did something for religion and the clergy."

There you have the Count d'Artois, who, under

the name of Charles X., took it into his head to create institutions and do something.

This old prince possessed no other nature than despotism of the old order. He returned to it with great strides in signing his famous ordinances of the 25th of July, in the language of the ignorant M. de Polignac. On that day Charles played with his crown with as much levity as he formerly made one of a tennis party at Versailles. On the 26th the liberticidal ordinances were published in the *Moniteur*, and roused the indignation of all Paris. Charles X. went from Saint-Cloud to Rambouillet to hunt. His chief huntsman, Girardin, was more occupied with the effect of the ordinances than the taking of a hind or a stag, but nevertheless superintended the preparations for the royal chase, whilst Charles X. was only concerned with witnessing the work of the faithful subjects of his kennels. The hunt "went to the devil," according to the expression, and perhaps also the wish, of the chief huntsman, who was more anxious to return to Saint-Cloud than to traverse the forests of Rambouillet; but the King was occupied in establishing the winter hunts. At last, towards evening, the ill-success of the hunt and the sight of an enormous fallen oak in the forest seemed like an unexpected prophecy, and Charles X. for a moment appeared as one in a dream. A courier, coming from Paris, approached the King, stammered out a few words, and the order to return to Saint-Cloud was given immediately. A few moments previously Charles X. anxiously enquired after the progress of the hunt. The chief huntsman replied:

"Sire, the dogs are tired and work badly."

"That's unlucky," replied the King, in a contrary mood. "We shall do nothing, then, to-day. By the way, Girardin," he continued, "you see that all goes well yonder since we receive no news."

"No news! I am not surprised at that," replied the chief huntsman, "but I think that if we were at Saint-Cloud we should know more."

As a matter of fact, whilst Charles X. was returning to Saint-Cloud, barricades were being prepared in Paris, and people were getting under arms in all parts to resist the Royal Guard and the numerous troops placed under the command of Marshal Marmont. The siege was resolved upon, and Marmont ordered to combat the rebels to the death, and the fight raged during the 27th and the 28th with unparalleled violence on the part of the Royal Guard, but with heroic courage on the part of the people, for the National Guard, broken up by Villèle, did not show itself again, and the middle class awaited the morrow tranquilly enough. During the terrible contest of the 28th, and the day and night of the 29th, Charles X. was playing whist at Saint-Cloud, and Marmont saw the triumph of the people on the day after. Ten thousand dead were left upon the field of battle, but the people were victorious, and pursued Charles X., a fugitive, to Rambouillet, where he was made prisoner, and, with his family, driven out of French territory.

Charles X. was a madcap and libertine in his youth, a corrupt squanderer of the public treasure in his manhood, the insolent enemy of the nation in the National Assemblies of 1787 and 1788, and a seemingly furious anti-revolutionist in 1789. Later on, he was the chief of the emigrants, wandering from court to court en-

deavouring to excite foreigners to war with France, and begging supplies in St. Petersburg and London to support the civil war in La Vendée, the South, and at Lyons. At Edinburgh, Napoleon affirmed in his will at Saint-Helena, he put himself at the head of sixty assassins. Having returned from exile he sold to the allies sixty strong places, well provisioned and armed; to England, our ships and arsenals; and he also surrendered the departments of the Rhine and Alps.

It is interesting to review the destinies of the ten kings of France who have borne the name of Charles.

The first was Charlemagne, who founded a universal monarchy, conciliated the love of the French, and was a great conqueror and a good legislator for his time (the eighth century). He raised men from barbarism and oppression, but he crushed the Saxon race. He was the son of Pepin the Usurper, a mayor of the palace, but this usurper was consecrated by St. Boniface.

Charles the Bald, the second of the name, was not a happy king; he died in 877, poisoned by his physician, the Jew Zedekiah.

Charles the Big governed the French without being king, and came to a deplorable end after an inglorious life and unprosperous government. He died, blind, in 888.

Charles the Simple did not have a happy lot; he died a prisoner at Peronne in 929.

Charles IV. experienced many domestic disappointments, being forced to divorce his wife on account of her adultery.

Charles V. was poisoned by his step-brother Charles of Navarre, who himself was burnt to death.

Charles VI. reigned thirty years in a state of continued insanity; and by his death, which happened in 1422, delivered France from a useless sovereign.

Charles VII., at first disinherited, saw his kingdom devastated and almost conquered by the foreigner. In 1461 he died from starvation through fear of being poisoned.

Charles VIII. perished by a sad accident, on a wretched mattress, in the year 1498.

Charles IX., the author of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, who drew his royal arquebus on his subjects from a window, died in 1574. Historians pretend that he was poisoned; but his death was as frightful as the life of a tyrant. He was troubled at night by the phantoms of the victims of the 24th of August, 1572. He constantly had an issue of blood.

And, lastly, Charles X., that phantom of a king, placed on the French throne by the League and the Ultramontanes, who only reigned a short time amid factions and party fury. The reign of Charles X. has not interrupted the continuous fatality attached to the name of Charles in France.

The Duke of Angoulême appeared to have obtained the votes of the emigration party and the royalists of the interior during the latter days of the emigration. His politic marriage with the daughter of Louis XVI. was sufficient evidence as to the use which was one day intended to be made of the misfortunes of this princess and of the memory of her father. In order to make public opinion favourable to the prince, they even went so far as to say that he was a stranger to anti-revolutionary feelings. As if it were possible to

do away with the memories and prejudices of his childhood and education; as if he could separate himself from the corrupt remains of the old court with which he was surrounded, and break away from the all-powerful influence of the foreigner over himself and theocracy over his wife! How could he be expected to reconcile the interests of the nation with a sacerdotal and ultramontane influence which was believed to be derived from heaven! In mounting the throne of his predecessors could he ever forget what he owed to the allied powers who had similarly established his father and his uncle? Did not France necessarily, through weakness, gratitude, and hypocrisy, become the tributary, and even the slave, of the policy of foreigners?

Louis I. de Condé was the first of that race. Born a Catholic, he became a Protestant to avenge himself on the Court and Catherine de Medici, who had preferred the talent of the princes of Lorraine to his. He opposed her with arms, conducted the conspiracy of Amboise badly, was taken like a presumptuous young man at Orleans, and lost the battles of Dreux and Jarnac against the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. Louis of Condé was entirely lost sight of beside the great Admiral Coligny and the young King of Navarre.

Henry II., the son of Louis, abandoned the Protestant religion, became a Catholic, and went and made civil war in Languedoc against his former co-religionists the Protestants. His only glory was that he was the father of him who was named the great Condé.

Louis II., a bearer of this surname, is in fact the

only man of this branch of the Bourbons who has deserved the title of a great general. But history does not absolve him from the vices which stained his life. He was immeasurably ambitious, sordidly avaricious, greedy of honours and riches, interested and selfish in his actions, loving gold better than glory, and a perfidious and dangerous friend. He troubled France for his own profit, and to increase his fortune ; allied himself with foreigners and the Spaniards, who were the natural enemies of his country, and made a treaty with them even after the national party had made them lay down their arms. The troubles of the minority and his reputation as a general made him think that he could get possession of the crown, a fact established by the memoirs of the Marquis of Coligny, who was his aide-de-camp for nineteen years, and knew him well.

As to the son of the great Condé, he was a very inferior personage both morally and physically according to the memoirs of Saint-Simon, who depicts him as a detestable man, and the scourge of all who had the misfortune to belong to him. This Condé, afterwards called Duke, was known alike for his amours with Madame de Prie and his baseness towards Law, the Minister of Finance, from whom he extorted as much money as he could with an indelicacy which was revolting to the most shameless courtiers; and he also degraded himself by his ministry, which made him still more despicable on account of its inefficiency and the scandalous venality of his favour.

Finally, the last Condé but one, Louis Joseph de Bourbon, the only son of the paramour of Madame de Prie, served under Marshals d'Estrées and Soubise

in 1762, and fought with success at Gramminger and Johannisberg. In 1789 he was the roughest and most forward of the enemies of public liberty. He was one of the first to leave the country, and maintained the ultra-feudal fanaticism of the princely and aristocratic emigration party on the other side of the Rhine. He obtained permission from the enemies of his country to raise a corps of emigrants in the Rhenish provinces. But this armed body could not move without the sanction of Austria, who shamefully took it in tow behind her own battalions. Thus this fine army of Condé's was under the orders of Austria and in the pay of England. It never numbered more than 2,500 efficient men, but the muster-roll bore 5,000 names, and the Prince pocketed every evening the pay of the other 2,500. (*Vide* the memoir presented to the First Consul Bonaparte by M. Roc de Montgaillard, to let him know of the plots and alliances hatched by General Pichegru.)

The Duke of Bourbon, father of the Duke d'Enghien, returned to France in 1814. For a long time he had been quiet in England with his father, the old Prince of Condé. He availed himself of the moneys which English munificence had placed in his hands. His known wandering life, private disappointments, and natural moroseness made him blindly attached to an English lady, who on the death of the prince, which is still a bloody mystery, inherited eight millions. Thus ended this great historic family.

The Prince of Condé is the only one of all the chiefs of the anti-revolutionary army who obtained any regard from foreigners, or supported the misfortunes of the emigration with energy. We have seen how

he upheld civil war by arming himself and fighting against his own country; not that he did anything remarkable as a warrior. It may be said that for five-and-twenty years no great occasion offered to show his courage. The Rhine Provinces saw the Prince of Condé under arms, but never witnessed any of those great deeds of arms which so often distinguished his ancestors. There was not a general of brigade in France who wished to exchange his military glory for that of this prince, who was always menacing, often intriguing and corrupt, but always inaccessible and motionless. He is like an armed statue of ancient France which took part in the funeral of the kingdom and the heroic birth of the French Republic. Perhaps he longed for possession of the throne; but even if he had renewed the genius and exploits of the great Condé, the old prejudices and antique maxims of monarchy would have been opposed to whatever royal authority might have passed into the hands of this distant branch without an express and formal renunciation of the direct heirs—a renouncement which would never have been obtained.

The pamphlets published in 1825 on the death of the Duke d'Enghien were received eagerly by the public, whose feelings of indignation and horror they increased by little-known facts which were calculated to rouse sentiments of humanity and a hatred of despotism in all hearts.

The friends of the Duke of Rovigo had foretold the inconveniences which would result from the publication of the extracts from his memoirs. The papers promised him that he would be well pleased with the gratitude of those for whom he opened up so vast a

field for abuse, calumny, and scandal. A new pamphlet, published under the title of "Explanations offered to Impartial Men, by Count Hullin," caused the inconveniences of the situation in which the Duke of Rovigo was placed to be felt still more.

After expressing his own view with regard to this deplorable trial, General Hullin explains that chance alone controlled the selection of the members of the military commission. Each of them came to Vincennes without knowing what was the matter. One of them even believed, though without being able to assign a reason, that he was being sent to Vincennes to be imprisoned. The Governor of Vincennes was no better instructed. "Another is in command here," he replied to Count Hullin's questions. "In fact," continues the latter, "picked gendarmes held all the posts." The commission assembled during the night. A remarkable incident happened when they had read the examination, in which the Duke d'Enghien demanded an interview with the First Consul. A member of the commission proposed that this request should be granted; but a general, who came and placed himself behind the president's chair, represented that it was impossible. (*Vide* the extract from the memoirs of the Duke of Rovigo concerning the general who made this observation.)

Count Hullin gives explanations of the double minute by observing that the estimable author of the discussion of the acts of the commission (the lawyer Dupin) ignored a fact which was not established by evidence in the documents. There were in fact two wordings; but the first, although signed by the members, was abandoned. It ought to have been destroyed

after the second had been drawn up. By an oversight this was not done; however, it could not authorise the execution, since it was left blank and not signed by the registrar, whereas the second minute did not order immediate execution, like the first, but only immediate election. If, then, it was exceeded, it was the work of the executive, and not of the judges. The commission was far from supposing that such precipitation would be used, as the president (Hullin), making himself the mouthpiece of the members of the commission, wrote to the First Consul to acquaint him with the wish of the prince and the hope of the commission. "At this moment," Count Hullin says, "a man who had all the time been present in the hall, and whom I could name immediately, did I not reflect that it would ill become me to accuse another in defending myself, came up to me and took the pen from my hand, saying, 'Your business is over; now it concerns me.' I thought," continues Count Hullin, "that he meant, 'It is for me to inform the First Consul,' but unhappily these words had another meaning." In this same pamphlet may be read how the members of the military council were occupied in making reports of the trial to send to the Minister of War and the Chief Justice, when a terrible explosion revealed to the judges that they were locked in, and that the unfortunate Duke d'Enghien had ceased to exist.

When it was a question of composing the military council, charged with killing, rather than judging, the Duke d'Enghien, at the castle of Vincennes, Napoleon chose the brave General Hullin to preside at this midnight tribunal, and he had the weakness to accept

this mission. Ah! if it had been a Crillon or a d'Orte he would have replied, "I will fight against your enemies, but I will not assassinate them."

The Duke d'Enghien, son of the Duke de Bourbon and grandson of the Prince de Condé, the chief of the emigrant party, was the last shoot of this branch of the house of Bourbon. The law of nations was violated with regard to him in the country of Baden, where the First Consul had him arrested by an armed force. It has been said, in excuse, that he was using the right of retaliation, which has never been well established. It was affirmed then that the duke had not been a stranger to the agents of the infernal machine, nor to the conspiracy of Georges Cadoudal against Bonaparte. He is represented as being mixed up in all the movements which the royalist faction in France attempted in favour of the Bourbons. The Duke d'Enghien, unhappily for him, had the reputation of being a young prince full of character and energy, and the only man of the exiled family capable of a *coup de main* in a counter-revolution, or of creating great enemies to France.

BOYELDIEU.

What distinguishes his compositions is their spirit of elegance and freshness, that knowledge of scenic effect and musical expression, that facile and lively elegance, and that arrangement which has neither the excess of symphony nor the luxury which have made the reputation of Rossini.

BRISSOT.

He edited the paper, *The French Patriot*, from 1789

to the 31st of May, 1795. As a member of the Legislative Assembly he gave the name of Brissotins to the deputies of the Gironde. He was a member of the National Convention in which this party increased. It wished to keep the influence that it formerly exercised in the Legislative Assembly under the name of Girondins, and which Marat in his paper, *The People's Friend*, designated under the ridiculous title of statesmen.

He was one of the leading men in the Jacobin Club until the month of April, 1795.

Having moved with Danton, Robespierre and Camille Desmoulins during the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, he connected himself ultimately with M. and Madame Roland and the deputies of the Gironde as he had been connected with Lafayette and Dumouriez in 1790.

He wished to trace events and men from the 14th of July, 1789, to the catastrophe of the 31st of May, 1795.

THE DUKE DE BROGLIE.

The family of Broglie, originally from Piedmont, is very ancient. It produced marshals of France under Louis XIV., Louis XV., and Louis XVI. The last of these marshals was a menial of the Court, and devoted to the favours of Marie Antoinette. His son, the Prince de Broglie, was a member of the Constituent Assembly, and of liberal opinions, quite opposed to those of the old marshal, who commanded the army which besieged Paris and the National Assembly on the 14th of July, 1789.

A son-in-law of Madame de Staël, the real Duke de Broglie could not but be a fanatic of absolute

royalty. Thus all his discourses, as a peer or as a minister, breathe the spirit of the ancient *régime*. He did not even suspect the possibility of a constitutional monarchy. He said in the month of January, 1832, at the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, that the Revolution of July, 1830, was an extra-legal fact, and in violation of the charter of 1814. He regarded it as the inspiration of an irresistible fatality, as the triumph of circumstances and the empire of might. It is, according to him, the only power which overthrew the throne of Charles X. and led him again to the frontiers; it was the only power which has arraigned ministers before the peers' court contrary to the letter of the charter, which did not at the time proclaim the responsibility of the monarch and his counsellors.

The opinion of this duke and peer on the Brequeville proposition fully bears the stamp of his invariable respect for restored royalty in 1814 and 1815. He wished that Charles X. should be given the title of King in the new law, finding the description ex-King improper and unbecoming. It was under these circumstances that, while refusing the members of the fallen family the right of re-entering French territory, he pretended that it was sufficient for the law to say a thing for it to be obeyed. The Duchess of Berry, in 1832, gave a striking testimony to this obedience in the south and west of France, "with the moral sanction of the legislator," according to the saying of the noble duke.

In his speech against recognising the decorations and ranks acquired during the Hundred Days, M. de Broglie has expounded a theory, the legitimacy of

which M. de Pontécoulant declared he could make nothing of. It is a doctrinal theory, according to which the orator has evinced contempt for the principle of the "sovereignty of the people" as well as the principle of "divine right." A government, if we are to believe him, is legitimate or not *according to circumstances.* Powerfully reasoned! What can we hope for in France from such legislators and such principles? The duke and peer also defended the heredity of the peerage, and decided, like Casimir Perrier, that attacks directed against this institution proved a nation to be afflicted with monomania and giddiness; he opposed the suppression of the anniversary of the 21st of January; and, finally, he insisted in the council of ministers that Louis Philippe should take the title of Philip VII. and retain the *fleur-de-lis.*

Although the grandson of a marshal of France, M. de Broglie, as a minister and chief of the council, is the greatest enemy of fights, battles, armed interventions, and energetic acts. As the son-in-law and pupil of Madame de Staël, he is a great partisan of the foreigner, and only regards as inviolable the engagements made with Europe concerning lawfulness. He never raised any obstacle to the agreement of the Holy Alliance to keep France under observation and in check, and under tutelage, in such a manner that she could make no interior constitutional progress and no outward warlike demonstration.

During the sitting of the 13th of May, 1833, this theorist put to ridicule, at the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, those men devoted to their country, who wished to rehandle the cards of Europe in the direc-

tion of French preponderance. This minister remains stationary when he could not go back; he unceasingly justified the treaties of 1814 and 1815, and is always ready to refuse liberties and influence to the nation under pretext of the dangers of propaganda. He is one of the leaders of the policy of the Holy Alliance, and denounces the associations of free men to it. It is he who stirred up the King of Sardinia to find out the authors of a pretended conspiracy at Turin. Opinion in France has accused him of being at the head of a perfidious system of provoking people, originated at St. Petersburg, and executed with diplomacy, in order to have occasion to gag them.

His speeches as a minister are veritable imbroglios; perhaps that accounts for the origin of the Broglies. He has said that if the Revolution of July was just and legitimate, it was at least illegal. He has said that revolutions are not subject to the laws, because they arise from the impotency of the laws. He declared that the royal government of the 7th of August, 1830, asked the other governments to recognise it, and as a minister he scrupled not to do his master an ill turn in public opinion by evincing a diplomatic bearing which should deeply wound the nation's feeling of dignity and independence. France gives no account to any power on earth of the revolutions and reforms that she accomplishes within herself. Her national government exists because it does exist, and because the nation has established it: and it needs not to be recognised by others: it treats with them concerning the interests of France, that is all.

The powerful and intriguing set of theorists is especially represented in the Chamber of Peers by

the Duke de Broglie. He is its "chargé d'affaires" at the Luxembourg, its orator and its candidate for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; for this set looks upon the administration of France as child's play: it needs Europe for its genius. The duke is at the head of the party, and he deserves to be. Oftener absorbed in ideas than in facts, and in vagueness than positiveness, he has such a noble disdain for men that he has never descended to know them. Moreover, never has a vainer or more decisive theorist illumined our period.

As an hereditary peer, he showed himself a zealous partisan of the Restoration; as a minister in 1831, he attacked the Revolution of July; and as a life peer, he attacked the Convention and the Revolution with a bitterness worse than that of an agent of the Holy Alliance.

As a minister in 1832 he applied himself to showing at the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies the illegality of all the acts which led to the Revolution of July, and the overthrow of the dynasty and throne of Charles X.

Both large and small negotiations escape his diplomatic mind; they are in danger in his hands. Hence the extended Dutch and Belgium question, the worn-out Polish question, the Greek and Bavarian question, or the Franco-Roman parody concerning Ancona still continue. He became still worse on the last great Russo-Turkish question. Does M. de Broglie show any slight desire to hinder Nicholas' Cossacks from establishing themselves at Constantinople? They press forward to disembark and pitch their camps on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus. Does M. de Broglio pretend that the Russians must remain in the Black Sea and

sail to Odessa or Sebastopol? The Russians reply by toasts to the Turks. Does the government make any pretence of supporting his diplomatic protests by a fleet? The Czar and his ambassador Orloff reply with cannon balls and shell against a French frigate that dares to advance. M. de Broglie demands explanations of this not very friendly military act: he is answered that the Turks are accustomed to perform their drill with bullets; and doubtless he declared himself satisfied on hearing of this Mussulman practice.

France doubts whether her government has any influence: that is what the ministry of Broglie secures her.

Besides, the duke is one of the famous balance-of-power politicians—sometimes to the advantage of the autocrat Nicholas, at others to that of the aristocrat Grey. He diverts or occupies the deputies of the Centre with pretentious idleness, by talking to them in theatrical language of the subtleties and wise contrivances of the European balance of power, however the balance may be compromised by the armed presence of the Russians. At Constantinople the ministerial papers undisguisedly exhibit lessons on high diplomacy, which the pupil of Madame de Staël-Holstein retails at the tribune of the Elective Chamber.

During his ministry of 1830, in concert with M. Guizot and company, he contented himself with the golden mean—the quasi-restoration. But he has changed since then, and is (1832) wholly and openly in accord with the Restoration. Among the Carlists he got himself acquitted of the hypocritical adherence he had given to the Revolution of July. He is a worthy minister of Charles X.

MARSHAL BRUNE.

He rose from the ranks, but became the victor of Alkmaar, Bergen, and Stralsund. These titles suffice for his glory.

At the end of March, 1814, when he was retired at Paris, he wished to defend the capital against the threatened invasion of the Russians.

Marshal Brune was called to the command of the people of Paris, who only asked for arms. A hundred thousand men could have stopped the barbarians of the North, but it was in vain that the marshal went to Rovigo, the Minister of General Police, to obtain 500,000 francs which the latter had in the coffers, and which would have done for the expenses of arming them. The Abbé de Pradt, Archbishop of Malines and former ambassador of Napoleon at Warsaw, was with the Minister of Police, and like him was of opinion that he could not disburse the 500,000 francs without an express order from the Emperor. Marshal Brune then appealed to the Duke of Feltre, Minister of War, to let him have the artillery and guns which were in the courts and magazines of the Hôtel des Invalides, but met with a like refusal from the Duke of Feltre. The only thing was to allow the Czar Alexander to profit by the disloyalty of Marshal Marmont, who surrendered his artillery and opened the gates of the capital to him on the 31st of March, 1814. Marshal Brune left Paris in order not to be a witness of this afflicting sight, and retired to Limagne.[1]

This general distinguished himself in Holland in the defence of the Helder, where he fought the English

[1] I was then at Limoges, where the marshal came to see me and narrated the facts which I have reported above.

and put the Duke of York to flight. He was one of the great generals of the Republic, and one of the most faithful marshals of the Empire. Having retired to the bosom of his family after the abdication of Napoleon, Marshal Brune was recalled to his duties on the return of the former from the Isle of Elba, and went to command the military division at Marseilles. After the disaster of Waterloo and the second abdication, the marshal on returning to Paris had to stop at Avignon. There assassins, paid, it is said, by a Marquis de Rivière, who had just replaced him in his command at Marseilles, assassinated him at the inn by breaking the ceiling of his room to fire at him at close quarters. This infamous murder took place on the 2nd of August, 1815: an unlucky day for Avignon. The authorities of this town prepared an official statement, in which they added calumny to the assassination by declaring that the marshal committed suicide. It was wrong to disguise the assassination ordered by the Tuileries.

GENERAL BUGEAUD.

General Bugeaud himself tells us, in a letter to *The National*, that he was the grandson of a blacksmith whose labour and economy made him a proprietor and elector taxed at 200 francs. It is good for a general not to forget that he is the son of his father.

General Bugeaud was known in his department, before he was nominated a deputy, for his liking for rural work. Agriculture is indebted to him for the invention of a rake and a butter-making machine. Does it not recall the virtues of Cincinnatus, who returned to his plough after victory? But this cele-

brated Roman did not become the jailer of a state prison, and he would not have consented to guard a famous captive had she been a daughter of Tarquin. In his prison on the banks of the Garonne he tried to prove that the 150,000 proprietor-electors at 200 francs represent the 20,000,000 proletarians attached to agriculture and the 10,000,000 workmen engaged in manufactures, arts, and trades. Now these 30,000,000 men necessary to society do not doubt that they are represented by 150,000 lazy proprietors, still less do they question the reasonings of General Bugeaud to justify their exclusion from political rights. This great military personage was at liberty to be at one and the same time the champion economist of the proprietor and to combine his calling of agriculture with the industry of a courtier, and the duties of a state jailer with those of a deputy. We are in an age of pluralities.

As a *general* he has faced bullets in the streets of Paris since 1831.

As a *deputy* he has been the official guardian of the Duchess of Berry, when she was arrested and shut up in the castle of Blaye, near Bordeaux.

As an *orator* he is believed to have been insulted by a member of the opposition, M. Dulong, deputy of the Eure, whom he killed in a duel.

Being sent as a general to Bon in Africa, he arranged a kind of treaty of peace with Abd-el-Kader, which was looked upon in Paris as a forced abandonment of the colony of Algiers (June, 1837).

The National of the 25th of April, 1833, reports an anecdote concerning the general which deserves to be known. After a stormy sitting of the Chamber of

Deputies, M. Bugeaud, in a discussion with a member of the opposition who easily succeeded in his argument, finished by shouting out in a moment of sudden inspiration, "You defend the system of the opposition, I that of the government; but that is not the question at all, it is not speeches and meetings that we want! *France calls for a new Bonaparte . . a Bonaparte who can save her. . . .* Ah! that I were ambitious!"

Happily the general of the castle of Blaye is not made of the stuff out of which Fortune makes Bonapartes.

BUONAROTTI.

This Italian patriot was descended from a senatorial family of Florence and numbered among his ancestors learned men, magistrates, and celebrated artists. His lively imagination and deep thought had shown him the miseries of the people, the subjection of nations, and the vices of absolute government in all their extensiveness. He was from that time, by a feeling of humanity and conviction, a political radical in the widest sense of the term; but disinterested, generous, and unambitious of popularity and offices. He was mixed up with the democratic plot under the Executive Directory called "the agents' plot." Being arrested with several other patriots, he was sent before a special criminal tribunal at Vendôme and acquitted. But power is never satisfied: it had Buonarotti, Rodier, and some other democrats shut up in the state prison of Mont St. Michel. Buonarotti recovered his liberty in the first days of the Consulate, and during the whole of Bonaparte's reign was a quiet citizen; but the Restoration obliged him to seek refuge in a foreign country, and he came to Belgium. I frequently

saw him at M. Rodier's house in Brussels. He was far from prosperous, but he supported his position, bordering on poverty, with a strength of character which is extremely rare. He decided to give lessons in music and Italian literature; thus he managed to live with his journalistic work and employed his spare time in writing an impartial history of the principles and plans of Babeuf and his democratic society. He composed two volumes of it, which were well received by the Belgians, who are naturally free and equal in manners, institutions, and laws. A purely democratic work was not likely to succeed among Frenchmen brought up under conditions of inequality and the usages of servile tradition, who only understood the aristocratic state. M. Buonarotti returned to France only after 1830. His work had but a small sale, for at that time romantic works, historical novels, or novels of the middle ages were in demand. He was subjected to the annoyance of a suspicious police, but his life was obscure and irreproachable. A prominent citizen, well known by his principles in the Chamber of Deputies, and for the generous use of his riches in aid of men of letters and politicians, Voyer d'Argenson, asked M. Buonarotti to his mansion, and gave him a lodging with honourable means of subsistence. He died in the month of September, 1837, and the nation lost in him a defender as enlightened as he was courageous. His devotion to the cause of the lowest classes was of the nature of the devotions of the ancients. Whilst Frenchmen ignored his existence and his death, the English, without ever having seen or known him, rendered the most striking testimony of admiration to his principles and political talents.

The two octavo volumes of Buonarotti they had translated most carefully into the English language; they had them printed and published in parts, and 50,000 copies were sold in London in a few days.

GEORGES CADOUDAL.

Georges Cadoudal was the son of a miller of La Vendée. He was the principal actor in the plot concocted at St. James' and Hartwell against the First Consul Bonaparte. Georges had acquired some celebrity as leader of the royalists of La Vendée. He was a stern, intrepid and proud man, capable of daring or doing anything. He became the hero of the assassination. Louis XVIII. has in vain restored his memory by having his portrait placed in the Marshals' Hall at the Tuileries, in place of the portrait of Marshal Brune, who was assassinated *by order* in August, 1815, and has in vain given patents of nobility to the miller Cadoudal, the father of Georges. This hero of murder is judged, and his memory branded by the justness of the laws as well as by public opinion.

This is what we find in the first volume of the "Memoirs of M. de Rovigo," chapter xv.: "When the Vendean leaders were called to Paris, Georges Cadoudal, like his colleagues, presented himself at the audience of the First Consul. The latter spoke to him of the glory he had acquired and the rank he had attained among the notabilities of his district, and further told him that, to the feelings which had raised him ought to be added those of a patriot, as he undoubtedly did not wish the miseries of his native province to be prolonged. Bonaparte stopped speaking, but instead of replying, Georges muttered a few words,

kept his eyes fixed on the ground, and finished by asking for a passport.

"The First Consul not only had one given to him, but ordered him to quit Paris immediately, which Georges did."

Bonaparte must have repented of having spoken of glory to a leader of rebels against the liberty of their country, and a firebrand of civil war. The lowered eyes of Georges when asking for a passport must have led Bonaparte to know what to expect from this man, more fitted to be an assassin than leader of a battalion of Vendeans.

Georges Cadoudal had been an ecclesiastic before 1789, and little esteemed by his fellows. He was a dangerous hypocrite, incapable of obeying the law, and hated the nobles no less than the republicans. The First Consul Bonaparte rightly called him a savage beast. Finally, he was endowed with great physical and moral courage, and was not lacking in a certain kind of capacity.

STRAFFORD CANNING.

England abounds in diplomatists. Diplomacy is a path of intrigue and fortune; it is at one time the political patrimony of the Whigs, at another of the Tories, according to times and circumstances. The clever, the astute, and the sophistical are chosen for preference. They must employ towards the foreigner the art brought to perfection by the cunning Walpole, the famous minister of George II. The cabinet of St. James' never lacks such statesmen. In 1829 Sir Strafford Canning was instrumental in creating a lot of embarrassment to the Ottoman Porte, when

he was charged with an amicable settlement with the Greeks. In 1832 he was sent to Madrid, where he did not fail, according to his custom and his mission, in making attempts to upset the affairs of the Regency and Don Carlos in the Peninsula, which was given up to internal troubles and the results of the war of the two brothers of the house of Braganza in Portugal. It is true the Spaniards have stronger and more politic heads than the Turks. It is not so easy as they think in London to lead astray and deceive a Castilian minister as to the true interests of Spain, as it has been to English diplomacy to deceive the Divan, ever a prey to serious dissensions.

GEORGE CANNING.

Canning said at the Lord Mayor's dinner of November 9th, 1826, "The English have struggled for twenty years with France, and against her, for the dominion of the world. To-day this country entertains feelings of the most conciliatory nature towards France."

That is an invitation to the political funeral of France.

No Englishman, be he minister or general, has obtained in such a degree as Canning the rare honour of public grief in Europe. The deaths of Chatham, Lord Ward, Lord Bute, William Pitt, Nelson, and Castlereagh have been a great gain to the nations of Europe and their liberties. The eloquent plebeian and clever politician, Canning, first dared to wrest the crown of England from the rapacious hands of the old courtly, parliamentary, and territorial aristocracy, which the military despotism of William the Conqueror

bequeathed to the prejudices and hereditary slavery of Albion. Canning caused light and truth, together with justice, to penetrate the sacred darkness of the throne room. He unmasked in the eyes of the British nation the arrogant inefficiency and hereditary absolutism of the old Norman feudal families, imposed on Great Britain by the Conquest; he cleared the aristocracy away from behind the throne of George IV., where it hid in order to reign exclusively, and was always stronger and more exacting than the throne itself. He dismissed these insolent parasites from the chief offices of state, these ambitious intriguers, who, placed there by accident of birth, wished to domineer over the monarch, oppress the nation, and stir up in Europe that Holy Alliance which had come to an end at Taganrog. He was the first, even contrary to the opinion and all precedents of European governments, solemnly to recognise the independence of the republican states of South America, and to commence the work of armed protection that the kings of Christendom owe to Greece, oppressed by Islamism. Eternal honour and glory to Canning, the defender of nations and the avenger of great political iniquities!

Mr. Canning, according to an English paper, governs the policy of England at Paris, and writes his diplomatic correspondence with the whole of the known universe at the house of the ambassador Granville. Six couriers are at his beck and call in an antechamber. He is so discreet that he never allows his political views, in the difficult, unforeseen, and extraordinary circumstances in which Europe is placed, to transpire.

He never assumes any other character than that of a minister travelling on leave for the sake of his health and curiosity. He sees men of all parties, and he listens more than he talks; he is a true diplomatist in every sense of the word. He refrains so firmly from allowing his character as a minister on a mission to appear, that he never wears his uniform in the most braided and dressy country in the world. He never appears as a statesman, but as a simple private individual. He only wore his ministerial dress to go to the royal audience of Charles X. At M. de Villèle's dinner he only took the ninth place, inwardly knowing that in reality he had the first. One very important question has been the subject of deliberations in the council of ministers, and of a long discussion at court, namely, to know whether a man without a title and with no other distinction than that of great political ability might be allowed to have the honour of dining with a Bourbon and sitting beside a King of France and Navarre.

The question was at first settled in the negative, but for fear of offending English pride, it was finally decided in the affirmative. Mr. Canning dined with Charles X. on the 18th October, 1828, having breakfasted with the manufacturer Ternaux.

The Parisians, who concern themselves more with the exterior of men and things, declare that this English minister has very sparkling eyes, affable manners, and altogether the air of a diplomatist. He dresses very plainly, and appears to suffer from gout. Consequently he appears to be little greater than M. de Villèle.

In a pamphlet published at London in March, 1830, by his widow, and entitled "The Authentic

Relation of Mr. Canning's Policy with regard to Portugal," we read these words:

"The last utterance that the dying Canning devoted to political affairs was as follows:—'I have occupied myself during these latter years with many arduous tasks, in order to raise my country to the height at which it now is. Two years of the Duke of Wellington's administration will suffice to destroy all that I have done.'"

The ultra-Tory soldier is aptly judged.

A man with hair powdered white, and a happy enough looking face, a sardonic and caustic wit, he was a clever champion of the ministerial opposition, but not influential in the cabinet. He had a smile on his lips, but it was the smile of entire confidence in his own power, and not the simpering smile of a French courtier. Rebellious by nature, he respected nobody's fancies but his own. He is self-willed in his ideas, and will never govern with those of others. He has abilities which are not denied by the various parties; his character is independent enough, and the compliance of the Court does not mollify him. He has fought in duels; he is not liked by the King.

The pencil of Gerard has reproduced Canning's features under an appearance of simplicity and thoughtfulness. There he is not a political actor who plays his part with a kind of elegant good-nature and simple malice which fascinate and astonish. His head is bald, his forehead wide, high, and prominent, and his lively kindly eye is set in thick eyelids. His complexion is slightly ruddy, his mouth ironical, his nose slightly inclined towards his right ear, and his thin eyebrows go well with his high cheek-bones.

This portrait possesses the stamp of truthfulness in an extraordinary degree; the proud character of the English citizen and the concentrated nature of the diplomatist are all there. We feel that he was made to be a Prime Minister.

The execution is remarkable. The treatment of all the flesh tints is firm and, at the same time, pleasing, and the colouring is brilliant without being affected. The warm tones of Italian and Spanish heads are not visible in it, but the fine and delicate shades of English heads and flesh tints. The hands are admired, being excellent in drawing and colour.

This portrait was first sketched in 1824, at the desire of Mrs. Canning, and finished during the last stay of this minister at Paris in the summer of 1826.

Whilst Mr. Canning appeared to proclaim to the known world "a resolution to maintain and defend civil and religious liberty in all places," and seemed to declare himself a supporter of the great principles of civilisation, Sir William A. Court publicly gave a bad proof of these solemn words at Lisbon. Moreover, the diplomatic scandal was so great that the English government, being too much exposed by the anti-constitutional envoy, was obliged to recall him from Lisbon, where he had already largely sown the seeds of anti-revolution. Sir A. Court was sent into the only country which remained to be put into confusion and spied upon, namely, to St. Petersburg.

Mr. Canning was a political charlatan who momentarily took up liberalism to frighten absolute Europe and extend English commerce with South America, which was recognised at St. James'. But Mr. Canning, though appearing not to be afraid to say

the words which would let loose storms ("I can put all the discontented spirits of Europe on the move"), was careful to use them only in commercial diplomacy.

CARNOT.

Carnot had scarcely become an officer in the engineers when he published his "Mathematical Essays," which gained his admittance to many learned societies. Afterwards he composed a panegyric on Vauban, which was awarded a prize by the Academy of Dijon. He was a captain in the engineers at the commencement of the Revolution, and was nominated a Knight of Saint-Louis. In 1791 he was elected a deputy of the Legislative Assembly by the department of the Pas-de-Calais. There his first speech was directed against the emigrated princes at Coblenz, Mirabeau, Cardinal Rohan, and M. de Calonne, who were intriguing at foreign courts to bring about the ruin of France by war. He proposed to replace the aristocrat officers who had left the country by warrant officers and sergeants. In 1792 he called for the demolition of all the fortresses in the interior of France, and introduced the necessary measures for doing away with the automatic and passive obedience exacted from soldiers and officers. He ordered the manufacture of 300,000 pikes, with which to arm the nation. He had the National Guard disbanded by the Legislative Assembly, as being guilty of great want of patriotism. Being nominated a deputy of the National Convention in September, 1792, he voted for the death of the King without delay. He had the principality of Monaco and a part of Belgium annexed to France. Having

been sent to the army of the North in 1792, he discharged General Gratien on the field of battle at Wattignies for having fled before the enemy, and placed himself at the head of the attacking column. Afterwards, in the month of August, 1793, he was nominated a member of the Committee of Public Safety, together with his friend and co-patriot, Prieur of the Côte-d'Or, a captain in the engineers, like himself. Without them it would have been impossible for the other members of the committee, who were not military men, to organise the general defences and procure the expulsion from French territory of the foreign armies which had invaded it.

Then Carnot displayed immense ability in organising fourteen armies and forming plans of campaign for combined operation in war, as well as for each individual army, by acting in concert with Prieur of the Côte-d'Or, who was in charge of the equipment of the armies and the great manufacture of arms, guns, sabres, cannon, &c. Carnot succeeded in achieving with these armies the marvellous victories which followed, from the re-taking of Toulon until the reduction of the four northern strongholds.

In times of danger, when the spirit of reaction preponderated in the National Convention and threatened the old members of the Committee of Public Safety, Carnot presented himself at the bar, asking to be allowed to share the fate of his colleagues as he had shared their labours.

It was then that one of the most furious reactionists, Bourdon of the Oise, who until lately had been an ardent revolutionist, opposed Carnot's being consulted, but at the same time exempted him from the accusation,

saying, "This is the man who has organised victory in our armies." In spite of the irresistible impulse of anti-revolutionary passion excited by Fréron, Tallien, and Barras, the National Convention took Carnot's advice.

He was named a member of the Executive Directory in 1796, and would have exercised great influence in military events had not the ignorant and presumptuous Barras been master of the war department. The directorate were not long in splitting up; Carnot and Barthélemy were powerless against Barras and his two other colleagues.

Then, in the violent measure of the 18th of Fructidor, Carnot, who was a great engineer but a poor intriguer, ran the danger of being assassinated at the Luxembourg by Barras' ruffians; however, he had time to escape this cowardly attempt. The decree of the Council of Five Hundred sentenced him to transportation to Cayenne like the other royalists.

Carnot took refuge in Switzerland, where he published an account of his conduct. This work showed up the scandalous and execrable conduct of the three directors, and contributed to the necessary overthrow of this despotic government that had been carried on under constitutional and purely nominal forms.

After the 18th of Brumaire, when Barras and his corrupt colleagues were overthrown, Carnot was recalled to France by the First Consul Bonaparte, who appointed him Inspector-General of Reviews, and Minister of War in 1800. But the ambitious Consul doubtless found Carnot's ideas too democratic, and replaced him by General Berthier, who was more fit to be a major-general in the army than Minister of War.

Being afterwards appointed a member of the tribunal, Carnot showed the same inflexible and strict principles of liberty in his speeches which had distinguished him in the National Assembly. He joined the opposition against the arbitrary plans of the consular government.

Carnot was opposed to the consulship for life when Bonaparte found himself hampered by the decennial constitutional consulship. He delivered a very energetic, and, moreover, a prophetic, speech against the idea of making Bonaparte emperor; he foresaw the endless alliances with foreign nations, and long wars subsidised by the English government. He desired in the interest of the nation, as well as in that of the government, that the useless and dangerous title of emperor should be refused to the First Consul. This speech, together with the opinions of the most patriotic and enlightened of the tribunes, largely contributed to the dissolution of the Tribunate, a power which had become irreconcilable with the secret boundless ambition of the First Consul, who only kept up absolutism and martial spirit in the administration.

After the dissolution of the Tribunate, Carnot retired into private life, and only occupied himself with study and meditation, until the time when the Emperor, recognising the injustice with which this great citizen had been treated, gave him a pension as a former minister, and added to it a revocation for the past ten years. The Emperor afterwards invited him to write a treatise on fortresses to serve for the advanced instruction of general officers and governors of fortresses. This work went through several editions.

Carnot was appointed governor of Antwerp on the first invasion of the Northern barbarians. He sustained the siege of the allied armies with competent energy, and only evacuated the place, as he declared in his printed address, when he was assured that Louis XVIII. had been received by France, and not through the influence of the foreign powers who occupied Paris in a military capacity.

Having returned to Paris, Carnot's rank was confirmed, and he was retained in active service. He reassumed the cross of Saint-Louis, which he had already deserved and obtained before the Revolution of 1789.

The form in which Louis XVIII. granted a charter to France, who already had her national constitution, displeased all patriots and enlightened men. The discourse which served as a preamble to this great act of royal usurpation only confirmed the powers derived from the King; and Louis XVIII. insisted in considering this charter as a gift and a concession, and not as a treaty between himself and the nation. This led Carnot to write a memorial on the subject to the King, which caused a great sensation.

It is pretended that Carnot's intention in writing this memorial was to dispose men's minds to the return of Napoleon, and the King's flatterers represented this memorial as an act of conspiracy.

The Emperor resuming his power after his return from the island of Elba, in March, 1815, made Carnot a Count and a Peer of France, and also made him Minister of the Interior. No man showed more devotion and activity than Carnot in these troublous times.

Then Fouché, Minister of General Police, without

consulting Carnot, had a large number of copies of his memorial to the King printed and distributed gratis in the streets.

Carnot in his ministerial circulars spared neither the Bourbons, the clergy, England, nor the allies, any more than the excesses and abuses committed in 1814. He continued to write with the same patriotic energy until the disaster of Waterloo, which suddenly changed the aspect of things military and political.

On the 21st of June Carnot had the sad task of telling, with the minutest details, of the loss of the battle of Waterloo in the Chamber of Peers.

The royal ordinance of the 24th of July, 1815, so long and obstinately solicited by all the menials of the Tuileries and the whole of the diplomatic body, contained two lists of exiles, one signed by Talleyrand, the other by Fouché, the two traitors who had sold Napoleon for foreign gold. Carnot was included in the list of thirty-eight. Being obliged to leave Paris and at first take refuge in Belgium, he afterwards chose Warsaw for his place of retreat, but distrusting the protection of the Czar Alexander, he went to Prussia and withdrew to Magdeburg. He had been treated at Warsaw with apparent great respect, but was strictly watched by the police of the Russian government. He was easier in mind at Magdeburg, although the Prussians were the fiercest enemies of France.

Carnot was always looked upon as a mathematician of the first order, and as the most learned and able officer in the engineers.

He published an essay on machinery in general; a

list of the exploits and noble deeds of the French army; some works on mathematics; some reflections on the metaphysics of the infinitesimal calculus; a refutation of the report written on the conspiracy of the 18th of Fructidor; fundamental principles of the equilibrium of motion; projective geometry; speeches against the re-establishment of hereditary monarchy in France; an account of the relations which exist between the respective distances of five points in space; an essay on transversals; the defence of fortified places; a memoir of the King in 1814; an account of the political conduct of Lieutenant-General Carnot from the 1st of July, 1814, &c.

After the 1st of Prairial, year III. (1795), a day disastrously and perfidiously directed by the royalist reactionists, several members of the National Convention, worthy martyrs of liberty, perished in a heroic manner. Romme, Goujon, and Soubrany, determined actors in this political drama, put an end to themselves by suicide, which was their only resource, as it was in olden times of the virtuous Cato. Six unfortunate victims of an unjust and violent assembly remained as faithful and inviolate to their civic partnership in death as they had been in their revolutionary association for liberty.

Before the 12th of Germinal, Carnot, who was personally excepted from the proscription organised by a disturbance paid for by the united emigration party and the reactionists, defended with exceptional skill his colleagues of the Committee of Public Safety who were destined to arbitrary transportation and banishment without judgment. In a sitting at which my defence was heard at the tribune, he nobly and

voluntarily associated himself in the responsibility of the actions of the committee, whatever artifice they employed to separate him from his colleagues.

There was no newspaper until the *Oriflamme* (August, 1823) which did not eulogise this celebrated military man. This paper agreed that General Carnot was learned, and knew the art of war, and distinguished himself by clever conceptions and works, which our great captains will consult in all time. Indeed, Carnot's works will for great military men always be an abundant source of instruction. It is from posterity that such a man expects the justice which is due to his patriotic services and great military talents. Contemporaries will never have anything to do with this posterity.

Being a director with Barras, he could not put up with his vices and dishonesty, and this made them irreconcilable enemies.

He said of Madame de Staël-Holstein: "She is Ninon without her beauty, but with ambition in addition."

He said of Talleyrand: "He takes somewhat after Cardinal Richelieu, having his astuteness and duplicity, but not his genius."

He said of Bonaparte, as a general: "He will imitate Cæsar; we shall see him ready to pass the Rubicon in case he should want to."

He said of Barras: "He had all the vices of the Regent, without one of his good qualities."

Copy of the letter addressed to the Emperor Napoleon by Carnot, offering his services at the time of the foreign invasion:

PARIS, *January 24th*, 1814.

SIRE, — As long as success crowned your enterprises, I abstained from offering your Majesty services which I thought would not be agreeable. To-day, Sire, when bad fortune subjects your constancy to a great test, I do not hesitate to offer you such feeble means as remain to me. Possibly the strength of a sexagenarian's arm is not much, but I thought that the example of a soldier whose patriotic sentiments are well known might be the means of rallying to your standard many who are uncertain as to which side they ought to take, and who may be easily persuaded that they will better serve their country by abandoning that standard. There is yet time for you, Sire, to obtain a glorious peace and the love of a great nation.

(Signed) CARNOT.

The Emperor immediately appointed him Governor of Antwerp, Flushing, and the fortresses on this coast, reinstalling him in his rank of lieutenant-general.

A eulogium on Carnot was made by the learned M. Arago, of the Academy of Sciences, in a public meeting of the 21st of August, 1837. The permanent secretary read this eulogium, which lasted nearly three hours, and which was many times applauded by the assembly.

Carnot took refuge in Warsaw in 1815. Being asked by the Poles what he thought of their constitution, given to them by Alexander I., who used to brag of his liberal ideas, he replied that a charter which was granted could scarcely be favourable to liberty.

This officer of the engineers and French patriot directed the operations and plans of campaign of the immortal armies of the Republic.

The defensive system of a country ought to be brought into keeping with (gradually, and by correcting little by little whatever is found insufficient and defective in military establishment) the views of

government, the topography of the frontiers, and, finally, the march of science.

Vauban, who had the eye of an engineer, had organised the defensive system of the north and east of France by various styles of fortresses and on various lines. But the distribution of these places on a frontier so open and extended may change with the same motives as first determined their respective positions. To-day the number and sites of our points of defence have undergone the experiences of the long war of the Republic and the Empire; and, in spite of the works of Vauban, the energy of the artillery and engineers, and, above all, the courage of Frenchmen, the Empire has undergone two invasions, one after another.

As to the number and nature of these points of defence, the opinion of the greatest generals has always been that it is better to have few fortresses, but that they should be large, well ordered and well armed, like those of Strasburg and Lille in France, Maestricht in Holland, Namur and Antwerp in Belgium, Magdeburg and Dantzig in Prussia, Luxemburg in German territory, Ulm in Bavaria, and Mantua in Italy, &c.

A great number of indifferent places are in themselves very weak or too neglected on account of their number. Small garrisons scattered about in this way weaken the main army and do not stop the enemy, who is quite content to march forward, leaving small detachments to surround these small places until want of provisions causes them to yield one after another without striking a blow. Then it makes use of them as supports and centres for attacking the stronger fortresses.

The suppression of these small places, whose positions render them quite unnecessary (such as Landau, Marienburg, and Philippeville in the north of France, and Huningen in the east), would be of value to the frontier defences; and the government might keep the sums annually spent in keeping them up for putting the chief fortresses into a state of formidable defence. The latter, supported by the vicinity of the active army, are very difficult to blockade, and also difficult to take; whilst the enemy would not dare to leave them behind for fear of having all their means of communication cut off.

The small places, though abandoned as points of defence, need not be demolished. They might serve as close towns to shelter light troops and detachments which had not an accompaniment of artillery. The inhabitants of the country round could withdraw to them, in case of urgent need, with their provisions, principal effects, and families.

As to the defence of fortresses of which the maximum resistance has been calculated at forty days in a regular attack, it is summed up in the two words, valour and industry. They ought to act in concert to be efficient, and never to cease from affording one another mutual support.

If it becomes necessary in the nineteenth century to establish a new system of general defence for the frontiers of France, it will be done differently to that which exists at present, as much as regards the disposition of the fortresses as their number and the plan of each of them. Variation of the frontiers as the result of war and treaties of peace, naturally calls for changes in the arrangement of the fortified posts.

The line of fortresses which extend along a frontier may also be found to be established the wrong way about, and it becomes necessary to alter or change it.

Vauban neglected nothing in the science of fortifications; he put forward the principle which has given his method such a marked superiority in his summary, entitled, "General Maxims of Attack." He was writing for the besieging party then. His fundamental principle is that the besiegers should always, as long as they can, gain the points they wish to occupy step by step, and not by force. From which it follows, on the contrary, that the aim of the besieged should be not to let the enemy take anything from him except by main force. The besieged should never lose sight of this truth, which should direct all their defence operations. Vauban had not as much occasion to study the principles of defence as he had those of attack.

Vauban's great art in constructing fortified places consisted in profiting by local circumstances or the accidental advantage of the ground; and officers in the engineers will find it very useful to study what he says concerning the particular properties of each situation, which may turn out to be of great advantage when one knows how to discover them and profit by them. For example, if a town happens to be divided into two parts by a river it is an accident from which several advantages can be derived.

A kind of equilibrium existed between attack and defence until the seventeenth century, when the genius of Vauban suddenly turned the scale in favour of the science of attack. Indeed, people were so astonished at the successive fall and overthrow of

places which till then had been renowned, that they did not dare to defend them, or, in other words, did not think of defending them. It was thought possible to yield without dishonour to such an ascendency; and thus came into use that now trivial maxim, "There is no place which is impregnable." This doleful maxim ought never to have been uttered by a military man endowed with the confidence of the government, and by a chief to whose fidelity it had trusted one of the keys of France.

Carnot has changed this state of things and these opinions. I transcribe the remarkable conclusion of his work on "The Defence of Strong Places" (page 476 of the second edition), published at Paris in 1811.

"The result of the work which has just been read is evidently this soothing reflection: that the barriers of France are absolutely impregnable against any power or union of powers whatsoever, provided they be properly defended; that a good garrison, established in one of our present fortresses, and animated with a noble desire to distinguish themselves by a memorable defence, can, as long as they can find means of subsistence and ammunition, hold their own against an army ten times as numerous, and finally disappoint and utterly destroy it, if the latter is resolved upon overcoming the resistance."

It is quite certain that war is not carried on with the same ferocity and destruction as before the establishment of a system of fortified places. It is asserted that war has assumed, even amid its devastation, the character of a species of moderation, since civilised nations are provided against the incursions of barbarians by a cordon of points of defence and fortified

places. Without it the west and south of Europe would still be exposed to Tartar wars and disturbances similar to those of the Huns, Suebi, Goths, and Vandals. Not only in Europe and in modern times are people defended in this way. Did not the Chinese Empire raise the Great Wall to protect itself from the Tartars and Mongols? Did not the Romans, who were so strong and warlike, under the Emperors Hadrian and Septimus Severus construct walls in Great Britain to separate the conquered province from the country of the Picts? History teaches us that our ancestors defended their strongholds for whole years. It is true they had a mother country and they fulfilled their duties towards her.

When the National Convention had appointed the chief members of the Committee of Public Safety in the month of January, 1793, Barère, who was one of them, was not long in pointing out—in a committee which did not contain a single military man—the insufficiency of the means of general defence. He proposed to include before anyone else Carnot and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or, both distinguished officers in the engineers and equally devoted to their country, and to put them in charge of the War Office. Carnot and Prieur accepted this honourable and responsible position, and Barère obtained the sanction of the Convention to their being added to the committee. From that time the general defence assumed an aspect of great activity, harmony, and energy, which alone were able to utilise the immense forces which the nation unceasingly put at the disposal of the National Assembly.

From morning till evening, and often far into the night did Carnot unceasingly work at the War Office in

organising armies and preparing plans of campaign to stop the foreign invasions which had been commenced on all the more outlying parts of French territory. Whilst Prieur was having guns, cannon, arms of all sorts, powder, and saltpetre manufactured, Lindet was actively and earnestly occupied in providing provisions and clothing, and all the other materials for war and for the interior. It is impossible to have a just conception in time of peace, or even in ordinary wars, of the immense works and numerous innovations which Carnot had to make in directing, organising, and overlooking the progress of operations of fourteen armies, to give them faithful and enlightened leaders, to overcome the resistance and jealousy of certain generals, and to offer battle at the right moment, as at Dunkirk, Wattingen, Maubeuge, Toulon, and Fleurus.

In the intervals for meals, his only moments of relaxation, Carnot retired to the bosom of his family, returning to the committee from eight o'clock until one, two, or three o'clock in the morning. Having set in order the work of his office, he was present at the deliberations of the committee, and still occupied himself with the needs of France and the progress of national defence.

In the month of Germinal, 1794, at the time of the death of Danton, Carnot gave an account of the public opinion which he had witnessed on this sad occasion to the committee, and he proposed that the committee should henceforth oppose the accusation of members of the National Convention, in the interests even of representative government, which he regarded as destroyed if the servile and ardent passions of party spirit could overrule the representation. This

resolution, which had become necessary on account of the grave events brought about by a few ambitious politicians who did not dare as yet to openly avow themselves, was carried unanimously in the absence of Robespierre, Saint-Just, and Couthon, who were not very assiduous in their attendance at the committee.

The latter owed Carnot a grudge, and went so far as to threaten to denounce him to the Convention as an aristocrat who was endeavouring to form a party in the army. Carnot only replied with indignant silence and deep sadness. Barère not being able to put up with the sight of such injustice and ingratitude towards the most hard-working, enlightened, and most essential man of the Committee, made a vehement address, in which he briefly recalled the great services Carnot had rendered in the public cause, from the day when he personally executed his plan of campaign for relieving Maubeuge, and conquering General Coburg at Wattingen, until the time when he planned and organised the clever and decisive battle of Fleurus. He demonstrated how the indefatigable Carnot had worked for liberty and his country without intrigues, useless speeches, ambition, and, above all, without reservation; and turning towards his unjust accusers exclaimed, "You are not unmindful that I also can make reports? Well! on the day you attack Carnot, I shall be in the tribune, and the National Convention shall hear me; it will declare itself unanimously in favour of the modest and courageous representative to whom we owe so many victories and the guidance of heroism in our soldiers."

This finished this sitting, as disgraceful as it was

foolish. Saint-Just dared not approach the tribune, and Carnot was not accused.

Carnot regarded defensive war as the only natural and lawful kind. He considered offensive war only as an accidental circumstance, and only tolerated it as a preventive necessity or sequence to the defence of territory.

It was Carnot who, being indignant at the conduct of the English at the siege of Valenciennes, proposed a terrible measure to the Committee, but one which pointed them out as the bitterest enemies of France, everywhere pursuing liberty as a rival and an enemy. He proposed to declare that the Republican armies should make no English prisoners. Barère drew up a report which preceded the formal decree of the National Convention; but this decree was only comminatory, for after the commencement of the battle the English suddenly deserted their lines and disappeared.

It was Carnot also who, to hasten the recapture of the four strongholds on the northern frontier, proposed to declare that the garrisons of these four places, who would not surrender, should be put to the sword. This resolution was decreed on the report of Barère, and although purely comminatory it produced the expected effect. The four northern strongholds were suddenly evacuated by the allies, and French territory was completely freed from them by the end of August, 1794.

When France was victorious she became the object of the ambition of, and a prey to, a few intriguers in the Convention, who had for a long time been ill-disposed towards her. To get possession of power

it was only necessary to get rid of those who had exercised it to the advantage of the country; and it was only a question of accusing them. Denunciators are never wanting in France. The fanatic townspeople of Versailles were influenced, and Lecointre was charged by Tallien, Fréron, and Barras with being the informer of the members of the Committee of Public Safety.

They wished at first to follow this up by accusing Carnot like the other members; but the Convention respected the man who had organised victory. Carnot had too proud a spirit, and was too just, to accept for himself an exception to the general denunciation. He loudly declared that he had taken part in the acts of the Committee of Public Safety, and that he accepted the responsibility of them. This high-souled proceeding astonished the corrupt accusers, who then had to sort out their accused so as to make their proscription less difficult.

When Carnot was appointed a director, he continued to direct the plan of campaign of the army in Italy, which was commanded by General Bonaparte, who knew his exceptional military talent; but Barras, who was the secret agent of Louis XVIII., having a majority in the directorate, ceaselessly opposed Carnot, and even threatened his life with his base guards of the Luxembourg. Carnot escaped from them and took refuge in Switzerland until the 18th of Brumaire, when Barras and his plots were thrown to the ground.

In 1800 he was Minister for War under the Consulate. Having become a member of the Tribunate, he opposed the establishment of the Empire, and gave

the political reasons for his opposition, which Bonaparte only too well bore out by his wars.

However, Napoleon, hearing that Carnot with his family was in misfortune, granted him a pension as a retired minister of the government. Under the Empire, obedient to the wish of Napoleon, he composed, for the instruction of the general officers of the army, his "Defence of Fortresses." He afterwards went to defend the citadel of Antwerp against the army of the allies. Having returned to Paris, he addressed a memorial to the King, which was widely and successfully distributed among all classes of society. The Restoration was deaf and blind, and the memorial to the King consequently fruitless.

Then, on the return from the Isle of Elba, Carnot was appointed Minister of the Interior. There he found, in official succession to the Abbé Montesquiou, a general secretary named Guizot. The new minister was so discontented with the spirit and reports of M. Guizot that he dismissed him from his place as general secretary. The latter retired immediately to Ghent, to be with Louis XVIII., who had emigrated for the second time.

The character of Carnot was thoughtful, studious, and moral, and disposed to seclusion and the domestic fireside. He cultivated poetry as a relaxation from his military studies. He was accustomed to persistent work and solitary walks, and regarded being incorruptible rather as a severe duty than as a civic virtue.

Being again banished by the royal ordinance of Louis XVIII. in 1815, and by the amnesty law of the chamber of 1816, Carnot at first went to Warsaw,

forgetting that a defender of liberty could not exist under the government of a Muscovite Czar. Soon after he withdrew to the neighbourhood of Magdeburg. A large fortified place was still the subject of his observation and study. He died in 1823, honoured by the Prussians, whom he had fought against, and forgotten by the Frenchmen, whom he had made victorious.

ARMAND CARREL.

In the delirium caused by the inflammation of his wound, his power of thought and strength of mind did not forsake him. He often spoke of Spain. He was under the impression that he was in the country where the chief events of his military and political life had been accomplished. He talked with enthusiasm of the Spanish and of Madrid; and in a magnificent comparison between the brilliant aspect of this capital and the dirt of Paris, he gave forth expressions so poetic, in a manner so energetic and brilliant, that his friends at one time hoped that he would be preserved to them.

The idea of Spain was uppermost in his last moments, so much had he been occupied during his lifetime with that civil war subsidised by the despots and Tories of Europe.

"Spain," he said, "is a noble nation, a courageous people, fond of liberty. Her soldiers are brave; why not her chiefs? She needs another kind of government."

LORD CHATHAM.

He was a great statesman, a minister under George II., a profound politician, political orator,

and the bitterest enemy of France and her prosperity. In the same way as Hamilcar had made the young Hannibal swear eternal hatred against the Romans, Lord Chatham made his son William Pitt swear implacable hatred of the French. In fact, William Pitt, during fifteen years, never ceased to make furious war against France, her independence and her revolution, to such an extent that he contracted ruinous loans for England, which have increased her debt to £840,000,000.

Lord Chatham, who by his vehement eloquence directed popular animosity against France in all political circumstances, was, however, one of the most courageous defenders of North America, which had risen against the English capital. Although ill and suffering from gout, Chatham had himself carried to the House of Lords, and never had he been so eloquent, politic, and unhappily prophetic. He declared that the justest and wisest course for England to take with regard to her former colonists who had rebelled against her, was to recognise their independence, grant them liberty, and make sound and useful treaties of alliance and commerce with them. But the favourite minister of the foolish George III. then reigned rather than the crowned member of the House of Brunswick, and he had the sad privilege of losing America for England. By this episode the world at large obtained a great example and powerful encouragement in the emancipation of oppressed nations; and civilisation gained the model representative and democratic government of a numerous people who, over a vast territory, enjoyed universal suffrage, with regular power without hereditary autho-

rity, and great influences without aristocracy, privileges, or monopolies.

"If Great Britain acted with *good faith* for twenty-four hours only in her external dealings, her ruin would be inevitable." What the first statesman of England revealed in this saying was followed to the letter by his son William Pitt, and still more outrageously by Viscount Castlereagh.

Then, when a speaker on the war of American Independence dared to justify the alliance of England with hordes of savages, whom the government paid with the scalps taken from the heads of the insurgents, old Lord Chatham thundered his eloquence against this cannibalistic doctrine, in which it was fearlessly said: "We have the right to employ against our enemies all the means which God and nature have placed at our disposal."

M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND.

It cannot be gainsaid that M. de Chateaubriand is the nobleman of the old style who possesses most intellect, religion, feudalism, philosophy, despotism, instruction, folly, literature, pretension, style, and political ambition. His reputation is composed of these various elements, as incoherent and extraordinary in their union as in their results.

This great writer has proved, in the nineteenth century, in the "Genius of Christianity," that a novel can be made out of religion. Do not governments turn it into a political agent and worldly power? In his "Martyrs" he has shown that among Frenchmen the sacred and the profane, pathos and jocularity, can be successfully mingled, and lie cleverly blended

with the truth. In his "Itinerary of Jerusalem" he has shown that we can be Christians without faith, pilgrims without piety, fanatics without religion, hypocrites in manner, philosophers without a system, and make a holy crusade quite alone, and a journey in Judæa without going out of Constantinople.

This emigrant historian already proved, at the end of the eighteenth century, in his "Moral Essay on Revolutions" (published at London in 1797), that he was at one and the same time a democrat and a monarchist, a Bourbon and a regicide in opinion, an atheist and a Catholic, a savage by his writings and a nobleman by his manners, and by his intellect an historian and a novelist.

This politician has proved in these latter days that there is no safety for nations except in despotism and feudalism, that gratitude ought not to hinder a great writer from abusing a potentate in his fall, and that in extraordinary cases he should subvert all ideas, punish opinions, accuse the past, stigmatise the present, destroy the future, and set his country on fire, to make her happy.

Being sent to the Congress of Verona, he flattered the despotic plans of the Holy Alliance. Having become Minister for Foreign Affairs, he co-operated in the destruction of Spanish liberty by adding diplomatic influence to military invasion.

Later on, being disgraced at the Restoration, he made himself, in the *Journal des Débats*, the champion of liberty and the press, and tiresome to the ministry which he had just left.

Having, by his dismissal from the ministry, entered the common class, he drew up a minute in the name

of the Greek party in favour of this long-oppressed people.

The disapprobation which Napoleon evinced for the speech which M. de Chateaubriand should have delivered in the French Academy, on replacing Chénier, whom he slandered on the same day that he succeeded him in the fortieth seat, has deprived us of this remarkable document.

What a loss to French literature is this discourse, in which he refused justice to the superior talents of M. J. Chénier! This discourse doubtless might have prejudiced the literary reputation of Chateaubriand, but it would have confirmed the reputation of the author of *Charles IX.*, *Gracchus*, *Fénélon*, and *Tiberius*.

On his return from Geneva, in 1832, M. de Chateaubriand published a pamphlet at Paris on the "Captivity of the Duchess of Berry." This romantic legitimist saw in the law on the state of siege a complete system of arbitrary warrants in grand style, and a well-pronounced legal arbitrariness, which changed a constitutional monarchy into an Oriental despotism. "It is Constantinople having eunuchs of theory for janissaries. Like Mahomet, they only carry chalevari in the English way as a sign of the progress of civilisation."

Being arrested at Paris, together with M. Hyde de Neuville and M. de Fitz-James, he refused to reply to the examining magistrate, as he did not recognise his judicial competency under a *government de facto*. He was set at liberty on the 26th of June. Such a man was very dangerous to prosecute. He was not a journalist or an obscure patriot who could be crushed at will. The crime of which he was accused

was connected with that for which M. Berryer, jun., was arraigned at Nantes. On the 3rd of July M. de Chateaubriand wrote to M. Barthe, the Minister of Justice, saying that he, Chateaubriand, was one of the men consulted by M. Berryer, jun., and approved his opinion on the consequence of the arrival of the mother of Henry V. in the west, and drew up two letters on the subject, one of which was to be sent to the Duchess of Berry by M. Berryer, jun. "The true culprit, if culprit there be, is myself," said M. Chateaubriand, at the conclusion of his letter. "This declaration will, I hope, serve for the speedy deliverance of the prisoner at Nantes; and the accusation of a certainly very innocent act,[1] of which, however, I most decidedly accept all the consequences, can only be allowed to rest on me."

M. de Chateaubriand, the result of whose letter the Minister of Justice acknowledged, left Paris on the 11th of August, more than a month after.

He is a liberal royalist, constitutional aristocrat, feudal monarchist, and a fanatic for liberty of the press and the old dynasty of the Bourbons. He has a grand style and nobility in his thoughts and utterances. He binds his liberal desires to his royalist affections. He would like to make France a Bourbon monarchy and a constitutional society. He associates the traces of olden times with the changes of the nine-

[1] M. Berryer, jun., summed up his recollections and his relations with Madame de Berry in these words: "All foreign or civil war, supposing it to be crowned with success, cannot overcome or alter opinion." That shows a thorough knowledge of the French spirit and the fanatical and unalterable character of parties. M. de Chateaubriand in his letters advised the mother of Henry V. to leave a country so torn by discord.

teenth century, and the immobility of old institutions with the progressive march of intellect.

In a lithograph the great legitimist writer is represented as a dog caressed by a little prince. The dog is of the greyhound kind and caressed by a very little prince of the Bourbon race. "The picture is piquant," said a young legitimist, in speaking of this lithograph. *La Caricature* represented the golden mean as a hare; and *La Mode* likened the legitimists to greyhounds.

M. de Chateaubriand declared (in a pamphlet published in November, 1831) that he was not the author of the famous secret letter that was sent to the foreign powers during the Restoration. This disavowal is precious, and nobly destroys all the calumnies spread at the time against him on this subject.

"That I lack genius, intellect, ability, logic, and knowledge I agree. I only ask that the truth may be said concerning me, and that such things as, for example, the *secret letter* may not be attributed to me, because I am not the author of that letter" (page 8).

He adds: "Since the beginning of the Restoration I have not ceased to demand public liberties. The liberty of the press perhaps owes me somewhat. It has been, by reason of the sincere fondness I entertain for it, the cause of the greater part of my disgraces during the reign of legitimacy. All men who desired the national franchise were then on my side. I sided, as now, with the revolutionists. What is there new in my position, then? Liberty and honour for France within and independence externally—that is the point of my sympathy with the *revolutionists*. On this common foundation of generous opinions we may live in peace, both *Carlists* and *revolutionists*, whilst the

country may be freed from the uncertain hands of the middle party."

The finest trait of his political life is his courageous and constant defence of the Liberty of the Press. In return, papers of all shades of opinion have defended him when power has attacked him personally on account of his writings.

When the *National* was attacked by the monstrous arrest of the 20th of March, 1833, M. de Chateaubriand wrote the following letter to the editor:

PARIS, *March 22nd*, 1833.

SIR,—The generous part you took in my last trial makes it my duty to tell you the interest that I take in yours, at a time when I should not be, as I always shall be, the zealous defender of the liberty of the press. I have not ceased, since the establishment of royalty on the 7th of August, to declare that this royalty could not long go on together with public liberty. What has happened to you, sir, is a fresh proof in support of my assertion. I trust that the Court of Appeal will do justice by a *disguised censure*, so much the more dangerous when it assumes the character of law. The Court of Appeal delivered Paris from the state of siege. Unhappily four departments still groan under the rigour of military measures, when the troubles of the west have been quieted. Will not the *independent press, the true national representative*, as the jury is the universal peerage, raise its voice against this forgotten tyranny in a corner of France, in a free country?

Please accept the assurance of my sincere and lively interest in the first of our social securities, and believe me, etc.

(Signed) CHATEAUBRIAND.

France honours the literary talents of M. de Chateaubriand, and still more his courageous efforts to uphold, under all systems and all forms of government, the Liberty of the Press for all opinions and all citizens. He has so invariably devoted himself to this liberty, which is so vital to thought and the first of our social securities, that the people fighting at the

barricades of July distinguished him in the market place and honoured him with acclamations. He tried to get it adopted under the Bourbons of the Restoration, and now (1833) he is accused of having employed this weapon and this conquest which he desired to devote to our use. But the press is neither ungrateful nor forgetful; it will defend him.

As to the Liberty of the Press, the person and talent of M. Chateaubriand ought to be inviolable to every government that, having been born of a revolution made by the press, remembers its origin. But theoretical ministers think, or pretend to think, that it is impossible to govern a country in which Liberty of the Press exists! Time will teach them the value of this maxim.

What one most deplores in the intrigues against power in the "Short Reflections" published by M. de Chateaubriand, is his having said that in the present government he could see no man of genius, no *superiority*, but only a few old *bachelors of the constitution*, models of fortitude and exhausted with oaths; and, finally, a few sordid mediocrities.

The courtiers and doctrinaires do not like to be treated thus; they affect high-minded policy and governmental genius, and cannot submit to the judgment of a romanticist, who, without being either a statesman, an historian, or a publicist, can only see in our prominent men at the close of 1830 a few dull and despicable mediocrities, at a time when two years of disturbances have sufficed to produce great ministers and a great number of men of high capacity.

Chateaubriand's Short Reflections on the Duchess of Berry's 12,000 francs.

1. We might ask why the celebrated author of the "Genius of Christianity" has given so much publicity to Madame de Berry's offer of 12,000 francs for the poor people suffering from cholera? The Christian doctrine is that the left hand should not know what the right hand does. Gifts to the Prefect and the Mayors of Paris were then quite unnecessary. Why put benevolence into the hands of the administration? The old way was to distribute aid to the unfortunate by means of the clergy of Paris, who from their position know the number and exact wants of the needy. That was the natural way for the benevolent committees and charity societies, which are so numerous in Paris. Why then this ostentatious almsgiving, when, by its nature, giving should be secret in order to be meritorious? M. de Chateaubriand should have spared himself these journalistic polemics, this correspondence with the prefecture and mayoralty, and this seeking to gain effect by almsgiving, and he would have escaped all political allusion.

2. M. de Chateaubriand sees nought but the beneficence of the royal races, *to whom France owes everything*, according to this sober historian. France certainly is indebted to this race, called St. Louis', for the folly of the crusades, the fanaticism of the middle ages, the civil wars of the Vaudois and Albigenses, St. Bartholomew's Day, the bloody siege of Rochelle, the military murders of La Santoigne and Aunis, the dragoonades of the Cevennes, the double ravaging of the Palatinate, the Revocation of the

Edict of Nantes, the corruption of the Regency, the debaucheries of the reign of Louis XV., and the waste and dissipation which made the Revolution necessary.

How adventurous M. de Chateaubriand is to proclaim himself, at the end of April, 1832, the plenipotentiary of Madame de Berry, by whom he is *authorised* to sympathise with the unfortunate and unite Old France with New France, at the time when Madame de Berry was disembarking from the *Cistat* and was expected at Marseilles, whither she was bringing four millions in gold and ten thousand muskets to stir up civil war throughout the south and west, and thus give the signal to the Holy Alliance of kings to make a general invasion? The future will explain these anti-revolutionist enigmas, whose aim is only known to the chiefs of the absolute and diplomatic alliance, but whose calamities threaten the fate of all nations.

But what history, with her inexorable justice, will stigmatise, is the atrocious inhumanity of this family of Bourbons, who chose to kindle civil war and call down foreign war upon France at a time when, above all, cholera and Asiatic plague were pitilessly decimating the population of Paris and twenty-five departments. Well! doubtless famine, civil discord, and foreign war was not sufficient: the plague, that great ally of the kings of Europe, was necessary too!

Declaration of the Political Faith of M. de Chateaubriand in pages 32 and 33 of his "Short Reflections," published at Paris, in the month of April, 1832.

"Happy at having been chosen by the Duchess of Berry to distribute her benefits, I am now formally

authorised by the exiled princes to sympathise, in her name, with all the unfortunate people of France, so as to participate in all that contributes to the prosperity, harmony, liberty, and glory of the kingdom. I hasten to obey this *double mandate*, so that I shall be kept in my country by its misfortunes. Thus I shall be, if it is so willed, the ambassador of Old France to New France, the language of which I speak fluently without false accent and grimaces.

"But people may rest assured that there is nothing *occult* in the missions of honour and benevolence that I have received, and I will never accept any other. I will never be for anybody a *plenipotentiary of night charged with business accredited to darkness.* I can only render myself guilty of infidelity by this act. The government knows that I have refused it all oaths, that I have given it my only fortune, the one I enjoyed as a peer—and that notwithstanding taking my share of the public burdens. Towards it, then, I cannot be either a traitor or an ungrateful person; it knows, for the reasons that I put forward at the tribune of the Chamber of Peers and in my two last pamphlets (1831 and 1832), that by recognising the present civil and military order, I do not recognise the political order of things. *Politically*, there is for me no *settled* charter of 1830, nor *necessary* royalty of 1830, nor unsummoned chambers of 1830, whatever the merit and necessity of these institutions may have been elsewhere at a critical time. But that time is passed now, and its duration was too short to have limited national right. [It is illimitable and lasting as the sovereignty of the people.—*Note intercalated by* M. Barère.] All the equivocations on earth will never

persuade me that a *handful of unsummoned deputies* has been able to settle the nature and form of the government of France. A *national congress*, sent *ad hoc* by the nation, alone has this right, as among our neighbours the Belgians, of deciding so great a question." (*Vide* the famous edict which revoked and annulled the edict of July, 1714, and the declaration of the 23rd of May, 1715, granted at Paris in the month of July, 1717, and registered in Parliament.)

Dr. O'Meara thus expresses himself with regard to M. de Chateaubriand:

"Chateaubriand is a former emigrant, who was appointed secretary to Cardinal Fesch, when the latter was appointed ambassador at the Court of Rome. He tried to make himself agreeable to the Pope and cardinals, in spite of the nonsense he had published in his "Genius of Christianity." While he was at Rome he made every effort to persuade the former King of Sardinia, who had abdicated, to become religious and renew his claim to the throne of Sardinia. But the King suspecting Chateaubriand, and regarding him as a *police spy*, *showed him the door*, and complained of his conduct to Napoleon, which caused his disgrace. When I was powerful, Chateaubriand was *one of my most abject flatterers;* he is a *characterless braggart with a cringing mind and a passion for writing books*." (Pages 363 and 364 of the second volume of O'Meara's work.)

During the Restoration he declared, in a sitting of the Chamber of Peers, that the emigration party was deceived when it took a national movement, provoked by the necessities of the time, for an accidental revolt of the populace, and as a simple act of *riot-*

ing. No, the emigration made no such mistake; it was too enlightened not to see that the whole nation, minus the privileged class, had caused and wished to accomplish the social regeneration of France. The emigration party thought of stirring up foreign powers in favour of its privileges and prejudices. France was then a gigantic union of free men, and the emigration party only a gathering of vain, powerless and mutinous men.

This romantic author seldom understood the needs and propensities of the new French society; likewise, he has very rarely been the medium of public thought. He has offered impressions more artificial than true, and has paid tributes to the conquerors as well as to the conquered. He was a poet in prose under the Consulate and the Empire, and a thankless prose writer when Napoleon fell from the most exalted throne in Europe. He fed the nation's illusions, rather than told it a few truths useful to its independence. He publishes his works and substitutes his "American Eclogues," his "Martyrs," his "Christian Genius," and his "Jerusalem" for publicist science and patriotic efforts. What does the depicting of the amours of Chactas and the deep melancholy of René matter to oppressed France? What have the unknown adventures of Amelia's brother or Atala's lover to do with our rights and liberties?

He views society under quite a romantic aspect, in illusory reminiscences, and the prophetic hope of a return of the past. His great talent is shown in history, poetry, polemics, pictures of foreign and savage nature, and the modern creations of art; but not in science of power, or knowledge of government. Social

state is not stationary, but progressive. It requires the warmest sympathy with public liberty.

He has great literary power, and a spirited and picturesque style; but it is an uncertain power and a fanciful style. The consciousness of his talent did not hinder him from obtaining a place outside contemporary history by embellishing ancient history. He preferred the religion of the past to the worship of the future. He could have been a great historical writer; but he lowered himself to the secondary *rôle* of a drawing-room delineator. Placed by his age amid the greatest and grandest things of Europe, he has entertained us with the Niagara Falls and the overthrow of a dynasty. Never was so frivolous a use made of such eminent ability.

His faculty of invention is limited; and his accomplishments seem to have restricted his genius by individualising too much. He has formulated all his works on his "Genius of Christianity," and assigned types to his ideas from which he could not depart or free himself. By his manner of writing he has limited the scope of his lively imagination, which is, however, none the less strange and grotesque. If he had not adopted this romantic style, bearing the impress of another age, and had grown up among a nation fond of novelty, his literary and philosophical character would have been wider and more useful to society.

His "Thoughts, Recollections, and Characters" are very lively and attractive. But in the domain of poetry, Chateaubriand makes us curious to know how the muse which has subjected our prose—sometimes so refractory, at others so lucid—to its chains, would

have subjected itself to the imperious rhythm of the lines in odes and tragedy.

His brilliant style has beguiled his contemporaries, who have great need of emotions and lies. His style is an admirable deception; and, according to Buffon, *the style is the man himself*. If, amid this very animated phraseology of wit and talent, he exhibits a few signs of genius, it is a very adventurous and even juggling genius. We can only thus describe him for fear of following his misuse of eloquence and imagination.

His poem "Moses" is devoid of that interest of vulgar curiosity which elsewhere sustains the most commonplace works. Its style is more forcible than its dramatic conception. Virtue derived from heaven sometimes languished on earth; and finally to incarnate the grand spirit of the Jewish prophet, he only appears to our imagination as the shade of Talma. "Moses" is not a tragedy, but entirely an epic poem. The poet has not touched the mark; he has overshot it. The work lacks genius, and Racine, in fact, could not represent Athalie. Let us not suspect the sincerity of his Christian terrors; but might we not affirm that he broke faith with regard to the prestige of the theatre he used, and the talent of the comedians who survived?

In his "Essay on the Revolutions," a very learned work, he gives the secret of his political opinions: want of independence, contempt for the rule of mediocrity, worship of the past and some sympathy for the future, a great respect for free religious sentiment, and a pronounced disgust for the outward and narrow rules which it was desired to deduce from it.

In "Les Natchez" he appears as the predecessor of Lord Byron, tired and wearied of an old and artificial civilisation, going to seek new impressions in the primeval forests of America, despising the conventional tone and the hypocrisies of a society as worn out as it was corrupt, and composing an ideal of savage nature as a satire on what he had seen, rather than as a picture of what he saw; disgusted with a monotonous literature, in which everything was imitation and tradition, and seeking truer emotions in pictures which were sometimes real and new, but more often grotesque, gross, and cruel, so as to set the enervation of our taste and manners at defiance. For the rest, it is not a very highly-finished composition, but full of the unmanageable fancy of youth, which has its errors and its revolts.

"Les Natchez" is a beautiful literary composition. "Les Martyrs" ingeniously combines the two great poetical methods of the ancients and the moderns; and certain parts of it, as, for example, the "Combat of the Franks," as even the severest critics acknowledge, carry it far above much that is most admirable which the author has conceived.

The "Four Stuarts" is one of his political and historical works which were much praised in the newspapers of 1828.

Chateaubriand has not written the history of these princes, but "Poetical Essays on the Four Stuarts." He is an historical novelist. He calls Cromwell "a great crowned spy," who was only a despot, who knew the temper of the army and the doctrine of audacious usurpation and passive obedience. Chateaubriand is like all party men, whose disposition is to belittle and vilify what they do not like.

Monk, whom historians have made out as a hero of fidelity towards the Stuarts, he pictures as a low flatterer of all parties. He becomes impassioned over Strafford, whom he depicts as the faithful servant of Charles, and betrayed by him. But when this writer comes to Henrietta Maria, he appears not to have dared to wrestle with Bossuet. He gives to history the delusive attractions and ornamental lies of the novel. He lets his imagination run loose at the expense of truth and historical gravity. He is full of clever reconciliations which are tiring, and of comparisons too intellectual and subtle to be in good taste. Superstitiously he regards the month of January as fatal to the Stuarts.

He calls Cromwell "the visible destiny of the time." What a romantic appreciation of one of the greatest figures of modern history!

In the preface of his new edition Chateaubriand has disgusted the public by those proud modesties which humbly figure in prefaces which have now gone out of fashion. It is letting the public into the confidence of his own weaknesses, and making it laugh at his own expense. Only authors who are murdered and mutilated by criticism resort to prefaces to avenge themselves. But that does not stop the pincers, or gag, or scalpel of the literary and dramatic holy inquisitors. Moreover, the public does not want apologies or satirical art in prefaces; it has no pity for the unfortunate and those who have fallen on the stage. If at times it takes part in hissing critics and persecutors, this short justice cannot compensate the unfortunate victims of an inquisition as holy as the rest. Literature's inquisitors are scarcely susceptible to hootings; they screen themselves behind their emoluments.

When M. de Chateaubriand was a minister he would not agree to the re-establishment of criticism. When he was turned out of office he attacked the minister Villèle for four years in the *Journal des Débats*. On the formation of the Martignac ministry, M. de Chateaubriand refused two posts, that of the Admiralty and of Public Instruction. He thought that this minister was not checked and settled in a constitutional system complete enough relatively to men and things. He preferred to be exiled as Ambassador to Rome, with a salary of 300,000 francs, all on account of his friendship for M. de Laferronnays, and to be of a conciliatory nature.

In 1824 he tried to dismiss his fellow-ministers, so as to become head of the council and director of the new administration. Villèle roughly upset him.

His romantic, wandering imagination carried him away and enabled him easily to change from the poetic to the polemic.

In the pride of his talent, he avenged himself on the Gascon minister who drove him out of the diplomatic house.

He is such a voluble, variable, and versatile orator that he can speak *for*, *of*, and *against*. He argues according to his interests and passions.

He is now in discredit with all parties. The revolutionists reproach him with his "Genius of Christianity" and his *Conservative* policy. The royalists reproach him with having been the father of disloyalty, an ambitious turncoat, with having broken down the dykes which confine tempers in monarchical order, and with having sometimes led them into the region of liberal doctrines. His mind has obtained no maturity with age; he is without political experience.

How was it that in 1828 the most poetical French statesman was chosen to represent France at Rome, in the old land of poetry? Time will solve this diplomatic problem.

He has written romanticism, diplomacy, religious polemics, ministerialism, travels, history, and topographical speculations.

Because it has been observed that since the elections of November, 1827, M. de Chateaubriand sided with the Liberal party (without thinking that he was satisfying his resentment against M. de Villèle, who so laconically turned him out of office), the Liberals, credulous and greedy as they are of conversions and new allies, have published that this great romantic author and eloquent reactionist was reconciled to modern doctrines, and was at last admitting republican opinion and inspiration, as if the main points of character and doctrines could ever really change, especially with men who have made themselves conspicuous or who have obtained a reputation. In their obsequious journals the Liberals transformed this literary potentate into a political tribune until the time (May, 1828) when we saw the noble viscount accept an embassy to the Pope or any other absolute court.

In his "Monarchy according to the Charter," he asks that seven men from each department should govern the happy France of the Restoration. In Constantinople he did not find enough despotism to defend himself against the excesses of the freedom of the liberal press. At London, in 1797, he wrote for the Republicans and against Christianity. In the *Journal des Débats* he defended his old opinions, his intermediate opinions, and the interests of the moment. He was a Royalist until the reaction, a Liberal until

the faction, and a designer at the Polignac ministry. He also forsook secondary duties in the diplomatic service of Consul Bonaparte, after the death of the Duke d'Enghien, at a time when resignations were rare. He was a companion of Louis XVIII. in his flight to Ghent, and he there wrote the "Moniteur" of the emigrated restoration, and was a minister in Belgium, as he had been one of Condé's volunteers in Germany. He directed the Restoration in the *Conservative* towards the union of the throne and charter. He attacked the Liberal opposition, and joined it again when the Gascon Villèle gave him an hour to clear out of the Foreign Office. He is a noble, a courtier, and a royalist, and against him he has court valets, the lackeys of power, and Jesuits both clerical and lay.

He made his embassy celebrated, not by diplomacy, but by his love for letters and the fine arts. He honoured with a handsome subscription the monument destined to replace the humble stone which covered Tasso's tomb.

The ashes of Poussin lay almost neglected in the church of St. Laurence-in-Lucina. He ordered a monument of M. Lemoine, a sculptor, which, executed entirely at his own expense, will always remain in this church; and he established a solemn mass to celebrate in perpetuity the anniversary of the death of this great French painter.

He had some excavations made at Torre Vergata under the direction of the learned antiquary Visconti, who also edited the descriptive work on them which was prepared.

He ordered a set of drawings from the celebrated Pinelli of Rome, the subjects of which the artist

proposed to take from the numerous works of this romantic writer.

He published some constitutional ideas on the peerage and the alliance of the old and new interests, which was not pleasing to men with old notions, errors, and feudal pretensions. His novel, "The Martyrs," has received a new preface. This writer wished to show in his preface that such as he was in 1826 his impressions of life had made him, condemning what experience had taught him to consider as errors, or vigorously defending what had not ceased to be his inmost thought, whatever changes time and events had made in the aspect of things.

We cannot share his old opinions, nor even all that follows from them.

His "Essay on Revolutions" cannot be regarded, either in its old form or with the reservations and restrictions which now modify it, as a work suitable as a guide in politics; but he wrote it sincerely, and corrected it with a kind of loyalty.

With respect to the elections of 1837, in which he did not wish to mix himself up either as an elector or as a candidate, he made his profession of faith in the papers by means of a letter dated from Paris on the 12th of October. It is as follows: "I did not refuse the oath in 1830 so as to take it in 1837. Time may modify my opinions, but it cannot change my principles. For the rest, I do not contradict any decisions which are opposed to mine. I have neither the right nor the inclination to blame anyone."

This is a very wise and philosophical profession of faith, very unlike the politics of the time, and honourable as times go.

Chateaubriand saw the great cities and various countries of America and Europe while France was a prey to civil war, and was being turned up by the revolutionary plough.

His literary life was all-absorbing. There was only one slight interruption to it, occupied by his political life in a very short ministry under the Revolution.

When Chateaubriand became a minister he voted for the wicked, impolitic, and costly Spanish war. He dreamt of the establishment of monarchies in South America.

In 1789 Chateaubriand pretended to understand that the old society was used up, and that the future belonged to the new. At London he wrote two revolutionary volumes, "On Revolutions," and meanwhile he emigrated in order to join the enemies of revolution and liberty.

In 1830 he was reconciled to Charles X., and after the fall of M. Villèle asked, so he himself tells us, that Casimir Perier, Sebastiani, and Royer-Collard should be called into the ministry, thus renouncing his own legitimist ideas.

But from the 1st to the 6th of August he would not listen to any of the generous speeches of the short interval which followed the victory. He refused all oaths, and remained with the ruins of the Restoration as he had borne solitude during the legitimacy.

Everything appeared extraordinary to this writer. He wrote his "Mémoires d'Outre Tombe," and the Bretons erected a monument to him during his lifetime.

"There is being erected," says the *Auxiliaire*

Breton, "on the Grand Bey Isle, at St. Malo, a monument which is destined to receive the mortal remains of our illustrious compatriot, M. de Chateaubriand. Many foreigners of distinction, men of letters, and artists visit the work, and the author of 'Atala' himself is to take part for some days in the consecration of the mausoleum, which will be performed by the Bishop of Rennes."

I find this epigram on Chateaubriand by the Abbé Roc de Montgaillard:

> "A Londres mécréant, capucin à Paris,
> A la France, en tout temps, il donna des avis;
> Augustin au boudoir et Dorat à l'église
> Le grand Chateaubriand a pris pour sa devise
> Le masque de Thalie et celui de Scapin
> Il se croit un Platon, et n'est qu'un arlequin."

He excels in narrating travels. Being a romantic traveller he is superior in his descriptions, and this region of literature is incontestably his element. For modern style, he is one of the chief writers of the nineteenth century; but inferior in genius to J. J. Rousseau, and in nobleness of mind to Voltaire.

A genius, like a man of glory, a conqueror, or a statesman, has his culminating point whence he can only descend. Similarly in the talent of the greatest writer or most elegant orator, there is a stage in which they attain their highest excellence. Such was the case with M. de Chateaubriand in 1811, when he published his "Itinerary" and his "Martyrs."

Even the most celebrated romantic authors offend by the great inequalities of their manner, by pompous pretension of style, and, above all, by their great poetical flights.

Fénélon displayed as much poetry in his "Telemachus"; but for all that his style was not unequal, pretentious, obscure, or neological. The son of Ulysses was offered to the French of the seventeenth century by the most celebrated romanticist of the time. But what works of Chateaubriand can compare with the productions of the Bishop of Cambrai?

In 1800, when he published his "Essay on Revolutions" at London, he was regarded as an advanced Liberal. In 1807, when he read the outline of his speech in the French Academy against the memory of M. J. Chenier to his friends, he was thought to be a royalist reactionary. He passed for a romantic monarchist when he wrote his "Genius of Christianity," and for a political Christian when he wrote his "Martyrs."

On the banks of Niagara he was a poet; on the banks of the Jordan he became a pilgrim.

The French extolled him as the chief of a literary school, and ridiculed him for being ambassador to the Court of Rome.

A dynastic according to the charter, he was a democrat as far as the Liberty of the Press was concerned.

Renouncing the emigration party under the ministry of the 25th of July, he was carried in triumph by the popular victors of the 29th.

He gave eloquence to devotion and melancholy to religious pomps; he romanticised holy books, and placed knightly armour beside the ritual of his pages; and, with the magnificence of his unusual style, he familiarised French levity with historical gravity, and literary criticism in departing from routine.

The beauties of Chateaubriand's style, in which

the disposition of wild nature is combined with the poetry of civilisation, have been likened to the shafts of the columns of Palmyra, which are Greek in style, but with capitals formed of desert bindweed and ivy leaves of the ancient forests.

Romanticists are the Titans of literature. They uproot rocks and hurl them towards the sky.

It requires boldness, however talented or favoured one may be, to attempt to change a whole written language that has been applauded, adopted, and even consecrated by foreign nations.

One must be very certain of the indifference of one's time to shake it thus in the habitual and rational expression of one's thoughts, sentiments, and opinions; and moreover extremely presumptuous to think that, with old ideas, audacious neologisms, and antiquated imagery, it is possible to rejuvenate the classical literature of the seventeenth century and the philosophical language of the eighteenth, which sanctioned the idiomatic improvements which have now become universal.

The appearance of romanticism on the horizon was astonishing, and over France it spread a bright light, fugitive as the Aurora Borealis. This meteoric literature will pass like the fiery vapours of the north-west, the times, dates, appearance, and duration of which natural philosophers collect, but the history of which no *savant* ever writes.

In 1836 Chateaubriand was thought more illustrious than Montesquieu, J. J. Rousseau, and Voltaire. It is drawing-room enthusiasm and party infatuation which is shared and disseminated by all the periodical reviews and editors of memoirs.

In some of his writings a temperament of liberty may be perceived, and in some of his actions the attitude of a partisan of legitimacy and absolutism. His political life shows acts of disinterested courage on behalf of the Liberty of the Press and freedom of thought, and dynastic indignation against the enemies of the granted charter.

He has been an ambassador, but has too much loyalty and frankness for diplomacy.

He has been a minister, but has too much genius in his head and too much poetry in his heart to fulfil the mysterious and positive functions of power.

Nature made him the most magical of writers and a great innovator in literature; but happily she refused him the title of a statesman, which is desired by so many insolent mediocrities and protected incapacities.

As a politician, M. de Chateaubriand paid tribute to romanticism. He exercised the wealth and bounty of his style in upholding *the fiction concerning consecrated races and dynasties with divine right.* He was too poetical for such arid matter and false doctrine.

His "Essay on Revolutions" appeared in London in 1797, on the still smoking ruins of the Conventional reaction. This book of his youth introduced numerous studies and deep knowledge; but ancients, moderns, men of action and of thought, the friends and enemies of the human race, nations, kings, warriors, philosophers, men of letters, and intriguers are all mixed up and confused in it. No aim is visible in this restlessness of mind and research, but only false appreciation and unintelligible comparison. It is the work of a student full of imagination and redundant in fancy, but also of a bitter sceptic, a sceptic in the age of belief.

While meditating on this work, which is the start-

ing point of this great soul, dominated, however, by a cloudy imagination which with difficulty copes with scholarship and history, we experience difficulty in guessing, and even in ascertaining, what sort of productions could emanate from this more curious than studious brain, this more ideal than positive mind. In the three volumes of the "Essay on Revolutions" one cannot perceive what literary or political, religious or moral tendency will sway this youthful intelligence, that is already so full of old recollections and so inflated with modern ideas. No strong preoccupation is visible, and no revelation of the future is evident from so much collected knowledge and so many confused sensations. But at least this ardent and energetic composition, which is inspired by an intense sentiment of justice and humanity, introduces a great hearth on which the lights of religion, morality, poetry, and politics may one day be lighted up.

Thus this youthful work and essay on political volcanoes was a great germ which needed adversity, travel, study, singular positions, and varied fortune to develop it and render it useful to mankind.

ANDRÉ CHENIER.

Born under the beautiful sky of Greece, André Chenier seems often to have shown its influence in his poetry. He has written a little poem, entitled "The Blind Man," in which he has pictured Homer thrown by the merchants of Cyme on the bank of Sico. The bard of "Achilles," the author of the "Odyssey," still asks for hospitality; but it is not refused him because he does not knock at the palace door. Millevoye has also composed a short poem on wandering Homer.

A celebrated author said of André Chenier's poem: "Its fragments seem to be those of a Greek poet, so full is it of taste and antiquity."

André, feeling that he was about to die, struck his forehead, saying in despair, "*There was, however, something there.*" It is the cry of genius which feels the whole power of thought.

JOSEPH-MARIE CHENIER.

M. Lepeintre compiled the best edition of the "Complete Works of J. Chenier" in 1823 (7 vols. octavo). In it the matter is well classified, and the pieces are followed by different readings, which the author gives, with notes which had not come to the knowledge of previous editors. It is a monument raised to the glory of one of the best poets who have honoured letters in France since 1789. This dramatic author sacrifices his talent to public liberty, religious tolerance, and patriotic ideas. J. Chenier is the best disciple of Thomas, Condorcet, Diderot, and Voltaire.

His epistle to Voltaire seems destined to be acted upon under all systems and governments. At the time of its appearance, outrage of public and religious morality was not the crime of the day. The slightest allusion to tyranny was the crime of that time. The name of some hypocrites was still within the scope of satire, but praise of old authors was not tolerated. Chenier's whole crime is found in these few lines:

> "Le pouvoir absolu s'efforcerait en vain
> D'anéantir l'écrit né d'un souffle divin.
>
> Du front de Jupiter c'est Minerve élancée;
> Survivant au pouvoir, l'immortelle pensée,
> Reine de tous les lieux et tous les instants,
> Traverse l'avenir sur les ailes du temps."

The "Epistle to Voltaire" has already passed over the space which separates us from the Consulate and the Empire. The government which the author then denounced has ceased to exist. He himself has gone down to the grave, and twenty editions of his work have rapidly succeeded one another. This literary production is generally regarded as a masterpiece of poetry; it has been translated into all languages, is found in all libraries, and everybody knows it by heart. The history of the government proves that since the discovery of printing, authority has never been able to make or mar the fortune of a book or a work. The tribunal of public opinion is the supreme court in these matters, and the only one competent to make such decrees.

"Un livre est-il mauvais? rien ne peut l'excuser.
Est-il bon? tous les rois ne peuvent l'écraser.
On le supprime à Rome et dans Londres on l'admire,
Le pape le proscrit, l'Europe le veut lire."

He was gloomy, proud, melancholy, and satirical, like Voltaire. His character was passionate, exclusive, and bold. He was not generally liked because he was too malignant and spiteful, especially in poetical and literary matters. His ardent character, which could not tolerate division or equality in the republic of letters, whose constitution never changed, prejudiced him a great deal and led him to extremes. He was a republican in the Théâtre Français, and a reactionist in the National Convention. He became the friend of the Republic when Bonaparte re-established monarchy. He produced a great masterpiece in his "Epistle to Voltaire." It secured him the honour of Napoleon's hatred, who dismissed him from his office of Inspector-General of Public Instruc-

tion; he wholly avenged himself, however, in poetry, by the composition of his beautiful tragedy of *Tiberius*. He would have been more happily situated at Rome than in Paris; he would have struggled against Cæsar as he had risen up against Napoleon.

M. J. Chenier died poor. In his last years he had to sell his beautiful copy of Voltaire's works to alleviate the miseries of a man of letters; he had no money, and gave up his most treasured literary possession to relieve adversity.

In 1787 he made his first appearance with a tragedy, *Azémire*, which was hissed at Fontainebleau and Paris. The young poet, then less proud, was convinced that he was mistaken. He took his revenge by writing *Charles IX*. This tragedy had a great success.

CLÉMENT.

Clément is the author of "Critical Observations on Different Poems." He was a born critic, but he should not have exaggerated it as he did, and separated it from that homage which every good *littérateur* owes to true beauty. This critic pretended that Molière, with his unique genius, could not make himself readable when he attempted to sing of "Painting." This decision is very generally expressed; but it must not be held to include the excellent pieces on fresco and oil painting, as well as other passages on the art of design and colouring, full of happy lines and undeniable beauty.

Ménage preferred Perrault's poem on "Painting" to Molière's, although he found his friend's poem somewhat obscure in some places and too careless in others. But Ménage's opinion of Molière is open to suspicion, and is moreover of little account on poetry.

CONDORCET.

Since the time of Socrates there has been no more kindly and tolerant philosopher than Condorcet, nor a greater friend of humanity and protector of its rights. The author of a constitutional scheme, perhaps too exalted in its views and severe in its disposition for a nation that was commencing its revolution, which stopped the cruel war of the 10th of August, 1792, to enter on that of La Vendée in 1793, they had only time to think of the defence of their territory and safety, Condorcet was not understood by the men of his time. The National Convention, however, commenced a discussion on his fine constitutional plan, but the sittings were interrupted by the increasing divisions into parties, and finally the events of the 31st of May caused constitutional ideas and principles to be lost sight of. Later on, however, in the month of August, the Committee of Public Safety thought it advisable to reunite the departments which were divided by federalism and to give them a Republican constitution as their sole bond. It appeared at this time as an anonymous criticism, but discreet and moderate in tone, of the democratic constitution presented for the approval of the primary meetings on the 15th of August, 1793. To discuss and criticise laws, to want better or less bad ones is the right of every free man. Malevolence actuated the Committee of Public Safety, who, by means of Chabot, denounced this criticism, attributing it to Condorcet. A writ was issued against the presumed author, who escaped the pursuit of his enemies and went to die in the retreat of Fontenay-aux-Roses, abandoned by his former friends.

BENJAMIN CONSTANT.

Look at him with his falling locks, hypocritically gentle and sheep-like face! He has more the air of a worthy farmer than a political orator. One would never think that his thin firm lips launched forth cutting sarcasm and satirical shafts.

He was a wordy dialectician, a dangerous political writer, a diffuse orator, the author of aimless religious writings, feeble political ones, and dull novels; a feeble statesman, a versatile journalist, at the service of every government who would make him anything, be it only a minister; ready to make every concession to power, even of rights and liberties.

A distinguished sculptor, M. Bra, exhibited a plaster statue of this political orator in the Salon of 1833. It is touching in expression. It represents Benjamin Constant in his decline in 1831, sad and worn out with mental and bodily suffering. It is Benjamin Constant as he pronounces the last words which the country heard from him at the tribune, a kind of will and funeral discourse to which at that time no one paid much attention, so strong still were the nation's illusions; so much were the knaves who governed France occupied in putting off their crafty policy and employing the time with ruses and corrupt precautions, in changing costumes and opinions, trading in principles and votes to pass from the hypocritical to the *positive rôle*. "In conclusion," said Benjamin Constant, "allow me to ask your indulgence, not for my principles, which I shall defend, if need be, for and against you, but for the imperfections of a hurriedly-drawn-up refutation. Physically my enfeebled

health, morally my profound sadness, have hindered my remedying these defects. This sadness I cannot explain: many understand it, many share it. I have endeavoured to overcome obstacles to fulfil an obligation, and my intention, at least, is worthy of your indulgence." A few weeks after this farewell Benjamin Constant died. The statue of M. Bra is expressive. The orator is leaning on the tribune, his face is worn, and his forehead full of presentiment.

M. Odillon Barrot expressed himself thus in Alsace on the subject of Benjamin Constant:

"Benjamin Constant died disheartened, because he foresaw the deplorable reaction which the Revolution of July had to undergo. At one time he believed that the three days had overcome all obstacles, broken down all resistance, and that nothing remained but to reap the benefits. It was an illusion which we were only too ready to share. The evil existed not only in the persons of our fallen dynasty, it was also in ourselves, in our want of knowledge, absence of political morality, excessive centralisation, and in many other circumstances altogether independent of the persons of the rulers of this period.

"*The overthrow of a dynasty was but the feeblest part of our work, and we thought that after this overthrow we had nothing more to do but to rest on our oars.*"

But it is easier to overthrow a dynasty than to change the manners of a country, to root up so much abuse to which so many beings are attached, and to replace old habits of arbitrariness and violence by order and peace.

COUSIN.

M. Cousin, professor and peer of France, delivered an opinion in 1833 which he undoubtedly did not find in Plato's works. He said, before the noble peers of the two ministerial batches of 1832 and 1833, that religion and the aristocracy are the natural supports of the throne (always more solid when resting on the nation and on justice). That is the opinion of a monarchical court, and not that of a true philosopher. It is perhaps the secret thought of a governor too, not the public thought of a legislative chamber. The time at which M. Cousin spoke was hardly fit for the reconstruction of the church and aristocracy. The trace of the middle ages is entirely effaced! In all parts the new generation declares with conviction against the antiquated doctrines put in force by a few upstart pedants and academical professors, highly exalted in that society which they deceive with their political knavery. The efforts of this retrograde party are attended with ridicule and sterility. No sensible writer would now dare to maintain that rank and pre-eminence are essential, that titled estates and entails are useful, and that property is only conservative. Industry and work alone have furnished the classes opposed to despotism, and have upheld a national government.

M. Cousin made himself advantageously known by his lectures at the Normal School. What distinguished him in his professorship was his religious feeling full of grandeur and purity. He gave himself up to the study of the Greek language, and translated Plato's works. His meditations and philosophical work did not prevent him from taking an interest in political matters. But attempting to travel in Germany, he was

arrested, and for a long time detained in Prussia. The Restoration honoured itself by stipulating in its diplomacy for M. Cousin's release. It is true that when, on the 20th of March, Louis XVIII. was obliged to flee to Ghent, M. Cousin, on Napoleon's approach, was engaged as a royalist volunteer with some friends excited by his example. His political fortune, however, dates from the Revolution of 1830.

When M. Cousin, the Platonic philosopher, published the works of that great Greek school when he was teaching at the Sorbonne, he greatly distinguished his chair by eloquent lessons. His lectures were attended by the leading men of the capital, as well as those of two other professors, Guizot and Villemain. M. Cousin's first lessons were considered as a general introduction to the history of philosophy. For a long time separated from his hearers, he wished to make himself known to them in a more special way. He expounded his philosophic principles, their tendencies and results; he reviewed all the problems which interest humanity, and by the eminence of the questions treated of, and the charm of his speech, he influenced many minds to the dry and difficult study of philosophy. It was in his lectures that he proclaimed the new eclecticism, and with the assurance of long meditation indicating only its application to literature and philosophy, he insisted on its political consequences; and, finally, in strange conclusion of all, by an analysis of the charter he showed that it was indisputably the work of this principle and new spirit.

M. Cousin was born for the pedantry of the Sorbonne; he translated Plato and thought himself a philosopher; he was made a peer and thought himself a great politician. The cabinet at Berlin judged him

otherwise; it had him imprisoned as the secret agent of conspiracies among demagogues. It was doubtless ignorant of the fact that this same M. Cousin became a royalist volunteer to repulse Napoleon during the Hundred Days.

M. Cousin distinguished himself among the youth of his time by his slightly monarchical teaching; having become a peer, we saw him on the 18th of January, 1833, shedding an actor's tears on the death of Louis XVI. at the Luxembourg tribune. But this assumed grief appeared too artificial and too studied, even to the legitimist peers. His speech for the martyr-king was thought inflated with a monarchical exaltation which several assert never existed in his heart.

DANTON.

On the 28th of August, 1792, the Minister of Justice, Danton, wishing to make certain of individuals whom he suspected of attachment to the fallen and captive king, asked in the legislative assembly for authority to search houses. Revolution was rife, and the Convention did not exist; the ministers, however, in the most dangerous circumstances thought they ought to ask for legislative intervention to enter citizens' dwellings. Civil liberty was respected by authority to such an extent that it did not believe itself right in momentarily committing an offence against it, except by a law which served as a means of warning to the citizens.

At the time of the king's flight on the 21st of June, 1791, Danton denounced La Fayette and the Jacobin society. In a stentorian voice he delivered a speech against the general to whose care the guarding of the Tuileries had been confided. We cannot repeat without a shudder the atrocious dilemma that he stated;

since the general, with a great reputation for patriotism, would have been the object, and perhaps the victim of the people's anger. Danton's dilemma was terrible in responsibility. He loudly accused La Fayette of want of foresight and inexcusable credulity amid the general distrust of Louis XVI. and his courtiers, who had become the hostages of the people.

Danton possessed violent and popular eloquence; he brought crime into insurrection, and made a fury of liberty. One day, during the first committee of the constitution, when the Girondists reproached him with the prison murders of the 2nd and 3rd of September, Danton, weary of these perpetual recriminations, got up, and, in a furious tone, replied, "*On the 10th of August the Revolution gave birth to republican liberty; on the 2nd of September she deposited the afterbirth.*" I attended the sitting and heard Danton's words, which reduced his accusers to deep silence. But those who extol Danton's platform eloquence without ever having seen or heard it must agree that such language as that would rouse the envy of Billingsgate.

When the Bourbons have been reproached with the crimes of the Restoration, writers have tried to excuse them by saying that it was the afterbirth of imperial childbirth.

But all these abortive despotisms cannot be absolved by such comparisons; political crime remains, all the same, an outrage against the human race.

J. L. DAVID.

Madame Meunier, wife of the general of that name, and daughter of David, told me a fact which much struck her father. When he was working on the picture

of "Leonidas," in his studio of the Sorbonne, Napoleon came to visit the artist, and, having examined the picture, said to David, "I do not see where it is open to attack." This picture, which was exhibited under the Restoration, was only finished in 1814. All the Spartans were exterminated in Russia during the invasion. Thermopylæ was shown to some of the vanquished during the reign of the foreigners, who, however, had not been the victors. But when Napoleon returned to Paris from the Isle of Elba, in 1815, he wished to see the picture of "Leonidas" again; then, examining this beautiful creation of the great painter with great attention, he said, "I was mistaken; I can now see how and at what point attack can be made; the arrangement of the picture is admirable."

David and Michael Angelo were alike devoted friends of liberty and ardent defenders of their country. Michael Angelo hastened to finish his great work at Rome, in order to shut himself up in his native town, to share its dangers, and pour his savings into its coffers—the fruit of immortal work; to raise walls of defence, and help the workmen with the same hands with which he had painted the Deity and sculptured Moses. David suspended his labours from the moment that the French nation chose him to be one of its representatives, and called him to the aid of liberty. David took a front place among the ranks of the friends of the country, and being afterwards persecuted by the royalist faction, took to his brush again to show Frenchmen, who were humbled by the foreign invasion, the devotion of the Spartans and Leonidas at Thermopylæ. A short time after, David went and expiated in exile his crime of having loved liberty and defended his country.

In contemporary history he could only take an interest in that extraordinary man, that hero of Europe who controlled everything in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Among those things which signalised the triumphal return from the Isle of Elba, two things, above all others, appeared to David to be worthy of his pencil. The first was when Napoleon presented himself before the gates of Grenoble, and, advancing alone, showing his breasts to the French soldiers and saying to them, "Lo, it is I! Would you kill your general?" At these words, as if by magic, all the soldiers, lowering their arms, dropped at his feet. This moral victory appeared sublime to the great artist. The second fact that struck him is of the same kind. In a review in the market-place at Grenoble, a grenadier left the ranks, and it was at first thought that he was refusing to follow Napoleon's fortune; but soon he reappeared leading an old man, about eighty years of age, and approaching the Emperor, exclaimed, "I should like my father, before he dies, to see our illustrious general and great Emperor."

Of our great revolutionary period David has left but one simple drawing; but these lines, inspired by love of his country, constitute a masterpiece which the engraver has already several times successfully reproduced. In this picture, which is simply sketched in, we cannot but admire the conception, composition, arrangement, historic truth and dramatic expression of a national event. How powerful, energetic, and popular, among six hundred communist deputies of France, David has made Mirabeau! He has represented religious liberty and toleration in the group of the Carthusian Don Gerle, the Protestant minister Rabaud St. Etienne, and the

celebrated Abbé Gregory. The learned Bailly calmly presides over this heroic assembly. David wrote this first page of the history of social regeneration for immortality, and he is better recommended to posterity by this simple drawing, "The Oath in the Tennis-Court," than by his grand picture of the coronation of the Emperor. The first of these productions of genius is spontaneous; the second is only the official glorification of a monarch of fortune. The tennis-court is the modest cradle of national representation, the coronation of Napoleon is the magnificent tomb of public liberty.

Genius has no rest this side of the grave, till then it produces ceaselessly, it is even forced to obey its inspirations, and is always evolving new ideas and sublime creations. David had a passion for historical painting, and during his last years was occupied with the principal features of ancient and modern history. In the former, two ideas occurred to him as most suitable for his compositions; if he had regained his health he would have treated the fine subject of the Samnite marriage. The assembly of old men, the courage of the warrior princes, and the beauty of the Samnite maidens are united in an episode which shows a young warrior being crowned for having saved his father in battle. We can imagine the richness of design, the originality of the grouping, the correctness in drawing, the fine ideal, and the ancient character which the author of the Sabines and Leonidas would have imparted to this picture. The second subject of his thought was young Horatius entering the paternal house after his victory, and sacrificing his sister for the sake of his country, who had upbraided him for the death of her lover Curiatius. This stern, terrible subject would have been impressed

with all the fanaticism of that deep love of their country which the Romans had. The author of the picture of Brutus and the Oath of Horatius was, of all his school, alone capable of doing justice to such a subject.

The reader will, perhaps, not be displeased at reading the letters that the King of Prussia wrote to the great artist at the time when the Restoration drove him from us:

PARIS, *May 12th*, 1816.

DEAR M. DAVID,—I am instructed by my master, the King, to acquaint you that His Majesty, being pleased to appoint so distinguished an artist as yourself, would like you to come and establish yourself at his capital, where he is willing to assure you a comfortable existence, and such aid as you may require. Your departure from Brussels not permitting me to talk over His Majesty's intentions with you, I enjoin you to write immediately direct to H.H. the Prince of Hardenberg, to whom you will make known your wishes. I have at the same time to enclose you a passport, with which you will, if you please, present yourself at Berlin, where you will meet with a reception worthy of your talents.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) COUNT DE GOLTZ.

PARIS, *May 16th*, 1816.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th of March, and have not failed to acquaint the King of the unavoidable delays experienced in your journey; they are too justifiable for His Majesty not to approve of the course you have taken. He hopes that the recovery of your wife will soon permit you to resume your journey.

But, notwithstanding the pleasure he will experience in seeing you established at his capital, I am instructed to say that he leaves this matter entirely in your own hands, to suit your convenience. You can thus, sir, securely await the termination of your wife's illness, and not in any way endanger, by a hurried journey, the health of one so justly dear to you. I trust that your troubles will soon be over, and that I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you among us in a situation congenial to your tastes, where you may enjoy a peaceful and honourable existence.

His Majesty will furnish every facility for your establishment that you may desire, and I shall be pleased to arrange this matter with you immediately after your arrival in Berlin, of which I trust you will let me have an early intimation.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) PRINCE DE HARDENBERG.

JOHN DEBRY.

He was a deputy in the legislative assembly in 1792, the National Convention in 1793, and afterwards ambassador of the Executive Directory at the Congress of Rastadt. Being the only survivor of the three French envoys, John Debry collected the correspondence and diplomatic documents, and was thus enabled to thoroughly unveil the political crimes of Austria and England in his notes, adopting an impartial and true attitude towards the various members of this fatal congress.

Later on, John Debry became a member of the Council of Five Hundred, and was appointed Prefect of the Doubs by the First Consul a few days after the 18th of Brumaire. There he was charged with the keeping of Toussaint Louverture, who had been brought to Europe by treason and shut up in the castle of Joux. John Debry regarded this superveillance as one of the most painful duties with which he was entrusted.

He possessed some valuable papers which he had taken to Mons at the time of his exile.

On his death he left two sons. How is it that these worthy inheritors of his name and good reputation have not themselves published the memoirs and writings of their father? These documents are in the hands of M. Charles Nodier. When and how will they leave them?

DECAZES.

He was secretary to Madame Mère until 1814. This clever Gascon afterwards returned to the Bourbons when they were restored by the allied armies. He became Prefect of Police under Fouché, then Minister of the General Police of Louis XVIII., supplanting Fouché himself. At that time he controlled the anti-revolutionary police with a vigour and corruption unknown at this period. He was insolently unpopular and proscribing; he was, moreover, made a duke, and loaded with riches. This favouritism of the King lasted until the violent death of the Duke de Berry.

This impertinent upstart said to M. Dumesnil, the author of a History of Louis XI., "Write then, but extol our glory; say that I am greater than a Villars or a Turenne. These are the terms on which you have liberty to print."

If Louis XVIII. needed conspiracies, they were hatched; if he required attempts against the public safety, they were committed.

The conspiracy named the "Black Pin" failed because it was still more ridiculous than treacherous. The Bomb conspiracy, which took place on the 27th of January, 1820, in the palace of the Tuileries, only frightened the household of the Duchess de Berry and the Duchess d'Angoulême; and Louis XVIII., who was laughing up his sleeve at the trick got up by the police, took care to send one of the gentlemen of his chamber to the two frightened princesses. "Let them quite understand," he said in his cabinet, "that it is not I who set fire to the bomb." On the following day the

newspapers did not fail to pour forth complaints and threats against the revolutionary attempt. The Minister of General Police would have liked to make the most of this pyrotechnic plot in the House, but the plot made to order was found out, and handed over to contempt and ridicule.

A contemporary writer, M. Fievée, who had been by turns, or perhaps at the same time, an agent of Napoleon and of Louis XVIII., has handed down to us the opinion entertained at the time on this bomb plot. "It was," says M. Fievée, "the subject of conversation throughout Paris, and everybody was trying to find out which party would reap the benefit of the fright occasioned by this crime, because everybody during these political times made use of good and bad feelings alike." There were men who in good faith proposed that the nation should again enter into slavery, to show its sorrow for the events which happened to or menaced the royal family.

Decazes liked to be thought a statesman, but he never rose higher than the rank of a favourite. As a clever intriguer he worked for the dynasty against the rights of the people, and Louis XVIII. repaid his devotion well. The ministry collapsed for having gone against the opposition, which was then very small in numbers; he could not inspire it with more confidence after the withdrawal of Dessolles, Gouvion St. Cyr, and Louis. After the death of the Duke de Berry the royalists too had nothing but distrust for M. Decazes. He sought shelter among the theorists, who perhaps feared him but did not like him.

A paper in 1824 (October) published the political account of this upstart with France.

Debtor Side.

One million granted in 1815 by Napoleon, then at Mayence, at the request of M. Decazes, for paying off the debts of his father-in-law M. Musaire, the President of the Court of Appeal. M. Decazes was then only a simple counsellor at the Imperial Court at Paris.

From 1816 to 1819, pay as Minister of General Police, added to that as President of the Council, about a million, without counting the magnificent gifts made to M. Decazes' sister, the premiums, the gratuities, and the revenues derived from the farming of taxes on gaming houses, &c. In 1819, eight hundred and twenty thousand francs given to his favourite by Louis XVIII., when he was compelled to send him out of the ministry.

In September, 1834, sixty thousand per annum and a sumptuous apartment in the Luxembourg as Grand Referendary of the Chamber of Peers, having supplanted his colleague, M. de Semonville.

Creditor Side.

The judicial murder of Marshal Ney, one of the greatest glories of France, and the saviour of six thousand Frenchmen in the Russian campaign, the establishment of the censorship—the invention of the hired plotter. The manufacture of a crowd of plots and conspiracies at Paris, Lyons, and Grenoble, which cost the lives of sixty citizens.

Finally, since the famous got-up plot in the month of April, 1834, the imprisonment of fifteen hundred individuals suspected by the peerage, thousands of visits to private houses, uneasiness and fright arbitrarily spread throughout all parts of France, under a pretext

of a great republican conspiracy. The present time will add still more to this odious list of assets.

This petty duke believed he was a great friend of Louis XVIII., who made use of his courtiers and ministers, but never cared for any of them. His nature was opposed to it; his large stomach took up the place of a heart. Decazes, who was in reality a Girondist, never let slip any opportunity of profit. He lent his servility at great interest. He soon became powerful, and later on a millionaire. Being imprudent, in spite of his Gascon spirit, he had the presumption to think that a king could like having the same favourite twice. He imprudently entered upon the slippery course of power. The courtiers could not accustom themselves to seeing the son of an obscure notary of the little town of Libourne in intimacy with the legitimist monarch of Coblentz, Mittau, and Hartwell. They attacked Decazes in the king's estimation, and dared to speak of his elegant political incapacity. "M. Decazes is sharp-sighted; don't you think so?" replied the king to them. It was thus he was accustomed to praise his favourite. Later on M. Decazes desired the appointment of gentleman of the chamber, vacant by the death of an emigrant lordling. He secretly set in motion persons round the king to obtain a place which seemed specially made for a favourite; but Louis XVIII., who was always head of the old feudal and aristocratic band, replied in these words: "*When you want to make a gentleman of the chamber, first begin by taking a gentleman, just as when you want to make jugged hare you begin*

by first catching your hare." This royal banter silenced those who were making the request, and very soon after M. Decazes ceased even to be a minister. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*

He only wrote the history of his master and the Restoration. His style was lively, smart, easy and thin like the author. This kind is scarcely suitable for a historian, but with a secretary and drawing-room fashionable it is otherwise: he was simply a plebeian, an improvised duke and minister, who thought himself a publicist, orator, and statesman because he had drawn up ministerial circulars and arrested political prisoners, and as an amusement liked to talk of the history he had made at his leisure out of anecdotes and historical scandals to amuse and deceive the credulity of a public admirer. What a splendid Gascon joke! What an easy-going man of the world! It savours of the confidant of Louis XVIII. and the familiar companion of Flora's bower, of the observer of my lady Angoulême's virtue and her unaccountable attraction. There you have local colour and a wonderful complement to historic truth.

Endowed with some wit, apparently well instructed and of great suppleness, Decazes could not have employed a surer means of pleasing the literary pedant Louis XVIII. than by rendering homage to his vast and profound learning. "Sir," said he, "you know Latin a hundred times better than we do; where did Your Majesty find time to acquire such solid scholarship and thorough acquaintance with authors? There is no secret in their language or refinement in their style which escapes you." And the crow perched upon his throne let his cheese fall; he patted the cheek of

the courtier-minister, and delayed taking his position away from him. Louis XVIII. aspired to the title of a patron of letters; he knew Horace and Racine by heart, and used to recite them before some academician when opportunity offered; this Bourbon even laid claim to the distinction of a writer. He accepted the dedication of Lemaire's collection of Latin classics, and gave him a list of the authors that were to be published; he excepted some on account of the political pusillanimity which characterised him.

GENERAL DELABORDE.

Born at Dijon in 1764, he was in 1783 a soldier in Condé's regiment of infantry. When the first volunteer battalions were formed in France in 1792, Delaborde, who had returned home, was made a lieutenant, and he was sent to the intrenched camp at Maubeuge, where soon after, adjutant of the first battalion of the Côte d'Or; he distinguished himself. Being named leader of this celebrated battalion, in less than a year he became adjutant-general, brigadier-general, and general of a division. He commanded the first division of the army at the memorable siege of Toulon, where Bonaparte, then a captain of artillery, commenced his great military career. It was Delaborde who, at the head of his division, carried the English redoubt after two assaults. This rapid promotion will appear quite natural if we remember the briskness of the campaign of 1793-94 and the improvisation of fourteen armies.

After the siege of Toulon, General Delaborde went and took part with the army of the Western Pyrenees in the battle of Roncevaux, and was afterwards with the army of the Rhine and that of the Danube. Later

on he passed into Portugal, where he served through two campaigns and received ten wounds. In 1812 he took part in the great Russian expedition, in which he commanded a division of the guards.

Already suffering from former wounds and serious infirmity, he had an arm broken at the battle of Dresden. At the time of the first Bourbon Restoration in 1814 he commanded the military division having its headquarters at Toulouse. We can remember the energy with which he favoured the national movement which followed Napoleon's landing at Cannes. The Emperor rewarded him by making him a peer and a councillor of state. At the second Restoration in 1815, it was the memory of his patriotic conduct which was the means of placing him on the proscription list of the 21st of July, 1815. He was a grand officer of the Legion of Honour.

General Delaborde passed the last years of his career in the seclusion of private life, surrounded by a family who loved him and children who were dutiful. He shared the general assent given to the Revolution of July, and hoped, like all good citizens and enlightened men, to see the benefits of liberty spring from it, and the advantages of the Revolution of 1789 consolidated, extended and guaranteed by a longer trial.

He died at Paris on the 2nd of February, 1833.

CAMILLE DESMOULINS.

His was a fiery brain, in which fermented classical history and the ancient republics. He had much spirit and too much imagination for good sense. After the first day of the Revolution of the 14th of July, 1789, was suddenly seen at the Palais-Royal, where the people

had assembled on account of the public danger, a young man who, with flashing eyes, excited manner, and loud tone, eloquently addressed the public who were frightened by the military invasion of the capital. In the middle of his peroration he took up a pistol and threatened to take his life rather than obey the satellites of the ferocious Prince of Lambese, who on the preceding Sunday had assassinated an inoffensive old man at the gate of the Tuileries.

This patriotic protest produced a great effect. Camille Desmoulins, observing it, cried with a loud and martial voice, "Let us fully arm ourselves and march against the haunt of tyranny; let us go and take the Bastille, and confound the enemies of liberty." The mass of the people assembled at the Palais-Royal were led away by this short speech, and on the morrow the Bastille was taken.

This was the finest act in the life of Camille Desmoulins, who, later on, lost his reputation and his life in the intestine divisions of the National Convention.

DROZ (OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY).

He was an elegant writer, estimable moralist, and gentle and indulgent philosopher. His "Essay on the Art of being Happy" reveals one of those minds rich in funds of benevolence, which their love for mankind leads to seek out that practical wisdom recommended by Socrates, Fénélon and Franklin. The chapter entitled "Pleasure of the Mind" is remarkable. M. Droz composed a "Eulogy of Montaigne," which obtained a gold medal at the French Academy in the competition of 1811. His studies on the beautiful

have no pretension of being founded on strict analysis. He wrote on systems of moral philosophy and published another work on the application of morality to politics. The first of these books is very forcible, and covers a wide range of thought. The second was less successful; the author attempted the impossible by trying to penetrate the inner morality of political transactions, a kind of Utopia which should be ranked with the dreams of a virtuous man.

DUMOURIEZ.

During his youth, Dumouriez wrote a historical and statistical picture of Portugal, where he had been employed under Louis XV. by the Count of Broglie, who directed the secret diplomacy.

When the Revolution of 1789 broke out, Dumouriez embraced its principles, and in his ardour for liberty, and perhaps also animated by a feeling of jealousy, he wrote several pamphlets against ambition, which he imputed to General Motier de La Fayette, then the Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard of France.

Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1792, Dumouriez appeared at the patriotic society of the Jacobins, delivered a speech, and donned the red bonnet, the symbol of this period. The invasion of the frontiers at Verdun and Longwy by the King of Prussia, Frederick William, who in person commanded his own troops and those of the emigrants, caused Dumouriez to be chosen to go and repulse the enemy; he succeeded, with Generals Kellermann, Beurnonville and Luckner, in driving the Prussians and emigrants from French soil. Public opinion accused him with having spared the enemy too much in their flight.

In November, 1792, Dumouriez went off to engage the Austrians in the famous battle of Jemmapes. He conquered Belgium, marching as far as Neerwinden, where he put his army into barracks, while he went to Paris to plan with the defence committee of the Convention on the means for defeating the foreign alliance; but Dumouriez, being of an intriguing nature, devoted himself to the Girondist deputies, who formed an opposition party in the republic by their spirit of federalism and division. Dumouriez thought to serve them by securing Paris and the Convention by means of his army which he had left at Neerwinden; he arrived with all haste as far as the gates of Lille, but they were shut against him. Shots were fired at him and his staff.

At the commencement of April, 1793, Dumouriez organised his march against the National Convention, which sent four commissaries to him. The general was then dining at Tournai with the Austrian Clairfait. He had the Convention's commissaries arrested by his army as hostages, and on the 4th of April sent one of his *aides-de-camp* to Valenciennes to deliver that place up to the Austrians. The *aide-de-camp* revealed his mission and the general's conspiracy.

Dumouriez then took the only course open to him; he emigrated.

The secret missions with which Dumouriez had been entrusted by Louis XVI. in Corsica, Spain, Sweden, and above all in Poland before the Revolution, were somewhat equivocal. In politics he was then only a skirmisher and an onlooker, not to say a spy, We can hardly follow all the intrigues entered upon by Dumouriez to get into power; his frequent attempts

with various ministers of Louis XV., and his proceedings with Louis XVI.; and we are bound to admit that no one more eagerly sought favour under the old *régime* and popularity under the new. It was the latter that enabled him to attain the end of his desires, but then, like so many statesmen of the time, he fell into the error of thinking he was strong enough to master and direct the torrent which engulfed him.

The second period of Dumouriez's life was passed on foreign soil. After having wandered for a long time through Europe, he found among the English an asylum which they did not always accord to the banished. There he also received something less honourable, viz., a pension of £1,200 a year, and he remained with them until his death on the 14th of March, 1823, at the age of 85. It is to be regretted that he did not seek an opportunity of re-entering France and wiping out, by fresh services in the eyes of all the friends of liberty, those stains which had been left on his glory by the last actions of his military and political life. His talents and the sentiment of just ambition ought to have inspired him with the thought of still making himself useful. His name is missing in the glorious list of warriors who have, during the nineteenth century, overrun Europe and conquered kings and emperors. In his asylum in England it is said that Dumouriez occupied his leisure in arranging plans of campaign against his country. Such a serious allegation requires proofs, and until they have been received every sensible man will refuse to believe it. The general could hate the National Convention which for the safety of France had declared him a traitor and put a price on his head, but he could never cease to

love France. The emigration was as odious to him as the assembly that had condemned him, and it is on this account that it is difficult to believe that he made plans of campaign against France.

His military talents are indisputable; history will not forget the difficulties of the Argonne, and that it was owing to the skill of Dumouriez that France emerged with honour from the most critical situations in which, through the perfidy of the emigrants and diplomatists, she had ever found herself.

The victory of Jemmapes opened the gates of Belgium to France, and it was one of the finest feats of arms of the French Revolution.

As a minister, Dumouriez proved his aptitude in the management of foreign affairs. He was also a political writer, but his works and his memoirs are more those of a wit than a statesmen; in them he exhibits a natural eloquence rather than that of a practised *littérateur*.

If he possessed great abilities, the use of them was too often subjugated to the calculations of his personal ambition.

At the end of his life, long experience had undeceived him as to many errors committed in his writings on men and things. When the plan of reprinting his memoirs was made known to him, he seized the opportunity of repairing more than one injustice committed under the impulse of the moment, and he addressed to the publishers of the collection of memoirs relating to the French Revolution, at Paris, notes and corrections which do honour to his character and prove his regret. The following is one of these notes, extracted from a volume published in 1823;

it corrects the judgment passed on General Lafayette, with whom Dumouriez, led away by pride and natural jealousy, had had such serious differences that he declared that he would settle his quarrel with him after the war.

"I wish," said Dumouriez, in his note, "that it was in my power to efface from my book and my memory the facts which have caused so much pain. I was, perhaps, wrong in resenting them so strongly at the time. Now I am calm; the facts and chagrins are even now far away. I have since seen the misfortunes of General La Fayette, his noble conduct under the empire of Napoleon, as well as in the dungeons of Olmutz; I see the line of conduct he adopted in New France, and I must acknowledge the sentiments of esteem with which he always inspired me, and those of attachment which he rendered me. This is the only way of fulfilling the promise that I made to settle our quarrel after the war, and I seize it with pleasure. But he might rightly accuse me of acting treasonably with regard to it, for neither he nor anyone else knows anything of the hit I am giving him now; but in that I avoid the accusation of connivance with him, and my language will only have all the more weight."

It is not six months ago (March, 1823) that Dumouriez wrote this note. He thus nobly crowns his career by recognising an error, and giving so noble a testimony to one of the most beautiful characters of our period.

Dumouriez finished his life in exile. Whatever judgment posterity may pronounce on the public and private character of this celebrated man, it will not be able to deny him those moral attributes which

make men illustrious — rare sagacity, a firm will, a mind fertile in resource, varied and comprehensive knowledge, great activity, and, what is rarer, that combination of civil and military courage; such are the principal attributes by which Dumouriez will be recognised.

In his correspondence, Dumouriez speaks of papers which explain the steps taken by him, after the battle of Jemmapes, to form a military party with the Duke de Chartres, who was then on his staff, under the name of General Égalité. Dumouriez' doings were suspected by the National Convention. The Girondists, who were the partisans and secret agents of Dumouriez, fell in the month of March, 1793, shortly before the time the general abandoned his army and passed over to the enemy.

THE ELDER DUPIN.

M. Dupin senior made his first appearance in the Chamber of Representatives in 1815, where he spoke on everything like a *seven o'clock barrister*. In Paris, barristers who plead at the court at seven o'clock in the morning are so called. After he had several times been refused permission to speak in the Chamber of Representatives, he went to plead in the royal court, where he skilfully and courageously defended journalists and those accused of political offences. His reputation as a liberal lawyer carried him into the Chamber of Deputies towards the end of the Restoration. He joined the opposition benches, where he was as usual vague, uncertain, versatile in his theories, and always a pleading barrister, and never a political orator. There were then very few publicists at the bar.

During the Restoration he was advocate to the Duke of Orleans, and defended his material interests with great success and devotion. Like many of his colleagues, M. Dupin covertly awaited the result of events. He reappeared on the day of victory, but it was in order to profit by the people's success, to secure its sovereignty, and make a Lieutenant-General into a king two days afterwards. He took part in the botching up of Louis XVIII.'s charter, maintained the judges of Charles X. as irremovable, proclaimed himself the saviour of the country, and became attorney-general at the Court of Appeal with £1,440 a year as his reward. In the Chamber he was placed between the ministerial centre and the foremost of the opposition. He pleaded for and against it, called the people rabble when he was concerned with the electoral law, and deserted his house when the people came to see him. After the deplorable session of 1832 he went to play the lord in the Nivernais. He only momentarily quitted his castle of Raffigny to come to the Tuileries and form a ministry. He failed; but this blow redounded to his praise, since he refused to yield to extra-constitutional influences and sit beside theorists before whom his instinctive honesty had always recoiled. Neither should it be forgotten that in a mood of eager truthfulness, when a finance law was under discussion, he called bankers and large capitalists the lynxes of the Bourse.

He made himself better known in judicial struggles than in legislative contests. A man who is eloquent at the bar is often but a trifling speaker on the platform. He is a lawyer and not a statesman, he knows nothing of political science, had not the assurance and dignity of a statesman nor the enlightened ideals which are

suitable for the legislation of a free nation; he is passionate, and every day makes sacrifices to his distrusts as well as his affections, which have made his representative reputation problematical.

By his silence as well as by his speeches, M. Dupin has lost the right of calling himself a lawyer. He has not enough public opinion in his favour to be able to avenge the charter of a guilty wrong.

In the eyes of a lawyer all right is acquired, social position established, and property inviolate; it is public right passed from the bar to the tribune. Lawyers who have become deputies constantly judge things and questions of political right by solutions or decisions of civil equity. It is one of the greatest errors of every man who is charged with representing great interests and the liberties of the nation. Thus it was that in the debates on the budget of 1832, M. Dupin defended the most abusive pensions as being vested interests. Such was the motive, legislative or fiscal, which caused the pensions that had been gained by the emigrants in the ranks of the Russians and Prussians to be retained in the National Budget, as well as those gained by the Vendeans and the Chouans in the civil wars of the West and on the highways. Besides, in the Chamber he became the supporter of abuses which they did not wish to reform, and the opponent of economies which public opinion demanded. It was he who, exaggerating the principle of irremovability, kept the partisans of the fallen party in all the magistracies and judicial offices.

He also opposed, in February, 1833, the plan that the Chamber of Deputies should destroy the military and anti-revolutionary judgments which had been aimed against thousands of good citizens by order of

Louis XVIII. and Charles X. The Restoration and its excesses appeared inviolable to this honourable lawyer - deputy. He exclaimed that it would be a monstrous, illegal and unconstitutional thing to reinstate generous and patriotic men who had risked their lives in order to hasten the time of national deliverance. It would tend, said M. Dupin, to dishonour the judges who had condemned these politically accused persons, as if these booted judges and provosts did not deserve to be delivered up to public execration. Are not the brave brothers Faucher of Bordeaux, who, in defiance of the laws, and without legal defence, fell under the fusillade of the restoration party, and were the victims of their devotion to their country and liberty, more worthy of the interest of Frenchmen than their brutal judges ?

M. Dupin senior had a wonderful faculty for explaining difficulties in jurispudence, but he was a nobody in matters of public equity. As to his opinion as a deputy on the progress of government, it is covered with a thick veil which he studiously threw over his speeches as well as his votes.

Moreover, his opinions are without interest to the public, and would only fill a few pages of the history of political and legislative changes. It is impossible to know whether M. Dupin, climbing and sticking to power like his colleagues, governed otherwise than they. He made a sort of lateral or indirect opposition, on which the country could no more reckon than the opposition itself. He is only able to make very good use of his position, whatever it may be.

Besides, he succeeded in being permanent president of a temporary Chamber, with a hundred thousand

francs emolument. He is thought a great power; as president he deliberates when he ought only to direct the legislative debates. He is always encroaching on the rights of the Chamber, and does harm to the liberty of the tribune, the independence of the deputies, and the development of questions under discussion, by his interruptions and frequent calls to order. If he leaves the chair for a moment, it is to perform the duties of an advocate with the subtleties and ironies of the bar. If he presides, he calls to order in such an arbitrary manner that he sometimes irritates the Chamber, that is usually so patient. Then he transforms himself into an attorney-general, and his observations resemble public prosecutions.

Be a political paradox or legislative subtlety hazarded, he is always ready. He has denied electoral supremacy to the tribune, he who has been raised to the dignity of being one of the nation's deputies by the electors of one of the divisions of the Nièvre. He only believes in the omnipotence of the Chambers, although he very well knows that he only holds a temporary warrant from the sovereign, and knows the rights of principal and proxy. He seconded the proposition of censuring, in the Chamber's name, the electoral college of Bastia in Corsica for having made a choice which he could only annul. Censure is a penalty which no law can authorise to be used with regard to meetings of the electors, since they exercise the rights of the sovereignty of the people. He even said that in a similar case the Chamber of Deputies could appoint a deputy to office, or, still further, that the king could do it by ordinance; as if electoral right could ever belong to either the legislative or executive bodies,

which are the subordinates and simple delegates of the sovereignty of the people, itself the only basis of representative government.

He is a politician of a singular kind, a lawyer, magistrate, deputy, President of the Chamber, and a man ambitious of reputation, offices and riches. He wishes to be a minister and president of the council, but he does not know on what conditions one becomes a statesman. He walks alone in a country where men usually advance in a troop, and he has imagined a third party in an assembly where in reality there can only be two, the ministerial mob and the opposition. M. Dupin wishes to be a man apart, actually he is nowhere. He pretends to make a flag of it, but he is without any colours. He is reputed to be a liberal, but is in reality a royalist. He has nothing ministerial except the wish to be a minister. He is eloquent in that quibbling and subtle loquacity which belongs to the palace and impairs the laws and corrupts equity. Although endowed with plebeian instinct, he is never known to speak of democracy, republicanism or revolution. Naturally antagonistic to the theorists, his opposition is directed more against persons than things.

His pretension to wit destroys his faculties and impairs his reason; he proceeds by fits and starts, and prefers a sally of criticism to a process of judgment. Presence of mind may perhaps be useful in a court of justice, but reason is required in a legislative chamber. His ideas appear isolated, he confines himself, as at the bar, to a single question, and has but a sequence of arguments as in a pleading. But the tribune demands a supply of principles, and a rational system for the formation of laws.

M. Dupin seems antagonistic to the military caste, Jesuitical Usurpation and the influence of the Bourse and bankers. He has become a slave to a fixed idea, and sees nothing but the despotism of the cassock menacing France as well as the despotism of the sword oppressing the dignity of the chamber of which it constitutes itself the champion.

He is not consumed with love of his country, he knows how to look after himself, and is even skilful and eloquent in this respect. His talent has more roughness than energy, and his rough answers, though epigrammatic, are beside the mark. His speeches have no echo in Paris, where men are too much and too closely seen; but his discourses which appear in the newspapers please lawyers and easy-tempered electors in the provinces. His assertions always remain surrounded with a certain amount of obscurity which allows them to figure in various shades of opinion; he is never wholly in or wholly out of any party. For a long time he has passed as the leader of a species of legislative eunuchs, who are fit only for sham fights or meaningless discussions, and who style themselves the *third party*.

In his own private opinion, then, he imagines he has become the pivot of the middle party, and even the fixed point towards which all the hopes of theoretical and dynastic France gravitate.

But he has neither enough energy nor character to belong to a party, still less to be its leader. He is a doubtful ally, who by instinct and interest sees his way in a state of neutrality, who disguises his constant and devoted services to power, and hides his ministerial sympathies under torrents of words,

half liberal and half absolute, according to times and circumstances. He seldom speaks on questions of general policy, and is not publicist enough for matters which he cannot learn *in strepitu fori*. The only aim of his speeches is to influence a certain number of votes, which he makes use of in swaying the opposition, and thus gives to the ministry.

The session of 1832 unmasked M. Dupin in the sight of all; he showed himself the leader of that third party which belongs neither to the centre nor to the opposition, and is a baffled, powerless, and intriguing portion, following in the wake of the theorists who despise it, at one time resisting, at another repentant, devoid of principles, incapable of conviction, wishing to conciliate monarchical establishment with the consequences of the Revolution of July, and boasting of its moderate tendencies and its alarm at the perils of the day, and not daring to stick to any reform, economy, or justice, except with the consent of the ministry. Such is the path of the third party. Such is its leader, M. Dupin, sometimes presumptuous to excess, at another discontented with himself and others; inconsistent, giddy with his elevation, and always aspiring to ministerial power, changing his behaviour and opinions, and inspiring friends and enemies alike with distrust. Always president of the centre, M. Dupin counts for no more in the Chamber than a refugee in the ministerial ranks.

The sitting of the 5th of March, however, did honour to his presidency. He stipulated for historical truth concerning the work of the 7th of August, 1830. Amid the anger of the royalists and theorists, stirred up by the vivacity of M. Mauquin, who said that only

a few amendments had been proposed and made to the charter granted by Louis XVIII., and that the new charter amended by the representative improvisation had been patched up in five hours, the president of the Chamber, M. Dupin, declared that he was not the president of the ministerial benches, but of the entire Chamber; that he would not, like these gentlemen, obey a signal, and would trouble himself little if they and their patrons were content. At these words the ministerial benches rose, clamouring like a lot of rioters. This sitting is truly historical. M. Mauquin's speech, brimful of facts, is above all worthy of notice. Truth never comes out in France, except by an extreme effort, through anger. This is contemporary history *ab irato*.

CHARLES DUPIN.

M. Charles Dupin showed himself better instructed as to the present and future of France than most ministers of the Empire and Restoration, when he sketched out his moral and industrial statistics and fine picture of progress in France. By setting forth information diffused over the majority of the departments, he reassured timid minds and the discontented who believed in political and social retrogression. He excited emulation in obscure departments by making them ashamed of their stagnation, and, finally, he encouraged men who like to count positively upon the social reformation commenced in 1789, and who until 1830 met with so many enemies and obstacles.

DUVERGIES DE HAURANNE.

This deputy, like all the theorists of his sect, is a verbose orator, with simulated anger and studied vio-

lence in politics. There is in his talent something fantastical which distinguishes the elect of this ambitious party. It was more melodrama than political argument.

DUVIVIER.

At the attack of the rocky heights and redoubt which defended the hill of Teniah in Algeria (month of May, 1840), General Duvivier, although enfeebled and undermined by fever, having donned garments which were too heavy and whose weight he could not support, marched, leaning on the branch of a tree, before a column of brave men who were decimated at each step by bullets. A third of the troop had already been struck: "Come, my men, cheer up," cried the general, "continue to mount; *even if there are only ten of us left*, those ten, at least, on arriving, will be masters of the redoubt." This sublime speech is worth a whole biography to General Duvivier.

FOUCHÉ, DUKE OF OTRANTO.

Fouché is a many-hued villain, a priest, a terrorist, and one of those who took an active part in several bloodly scenes of the Revolution. He is a man who obtains secrets with calm heedlessness. He is very rich, but his riches are not righteously got. They are the product of a tax levied on gaming-houses in Paris, which was an infamous means of fortune to him. "I did not like such profit for the state, and ordered that the amount of this tax should be applied to hospitals for the poor. It came to several millions, but Fouché, who, as Minister of General Police, received this tax, put the bulk of it

into his own pocket, and it was impossible for me to discover the sum total received each year."

Such is Napoleon's opinion of Fouché, given in the second part of the "Mémoires de Montholon" (vol. ii., p. 253).

The ugliness of Fouché, in the guise of the Duke of Otranto, during the aristocratic carnival of the Empire, became proverbial; he joked about it himself. I do not exactly think that his face was the means of his getting the presidency in the provisional government of 1815; but it is said that this facial deformity had previously been of service to him in obtaining high posts. Fouché had a sad look, and he was taken for a thinker; he had a calm manner, and was thought a moderate man; he was ugly, and thought profound; he spoke seldom and briefly, and was regarded as a statesman. That is the way we judge in Paris, where one never has time to do anything, still less to reflect; but they say that ugliness has made more millionaires and ministers in Paris than beauty. One could not very well be uglier than Choiseul, the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Trembling among his works of darkness, Fouché ended by falling into his own snares. At first, dismissed under the Consulate which feared his influence, he made himself necessary under the Empire until 1810, when the suspicions of the conqueror caused him to be turned out of the ministry and exiled in the senatorship of Aix, and afterwards in Illyria and at Naples. Fouché thought of nothing else but of avenging himself, but as a police official he made himself still once more necessary to Napoleon, who, on his return from the isle of Elba, entrusted him with the

Ministry of General Police. Fouché corresponded more with M. de Metterich at Vienna and M. de Talleyrand at Ghent than with his emperor, who was betrayed in 1815 as he had been in 1814; treason can easily change its language, forms and means, but traitors are unchangeable and steadfast. Fouché in concert with Wellington, when he deceived the confidence of the representatives to the extent of having himself appointed a member of the provisional executive council, sold France to foreign powers; he delivered up to them possession of his territory and the disbanding of his army. He contributed in recalling a second time the ignominious Restoration, and had himself appointed a minister under the dynasty whose head, Louis XVI., he had condemned to death. As all the acts of his political life are of a piece and resemble one another, Fouché delivered up Napoleon, on his abdication of the Empire, to the mercy of the English Government, who became his gaoler at St. Helena; he did more, he signed, in company with his worthy friend Talleyrand, the proscription of his colleagues of the Convention and the Hundred Days in order that Louis XVIII. might offer these human sacrifices on the alter of the Holy Alliance. Fouché took Talleyrand's arm at the Tuileries and put his hand in that of the monarch, who, more treacherous than himself, sent him to drag out his dishonoured life first at Dresden, then at Prague, and finally to seek an obscure grave at Trieste.

He had a mania for government. He wished to mix himself up with everything; nothing seemed amiss to his intelligence and ambition. He found himself circumscribed in his surroundings at the General Police,

and wished to exercise an influence in diplomacy, the region of great and idle fancies and petty intrigues.

It appears that Fouché, before departing on his diplomatic mission to Dresden, deposited his unfinished notes in the hands of one of his friends, who was a judge of the Royal Court at Paris. Fouché could not write; intrigue and police espionage occupied his whole time. These manuscript notes were delivered to a bookseller in Paris, who entrusted them to a writer to give them literary finish and soften down certain passages. Fouché decided that these memoirs should not be published until his death. One M. A. de Beauchamp, the historian of La Vendée, was chosen by the bookseller, Lerouge, to edit and touch up Fouché's notes, but he was required to declare himself reponsible to the public ministry for the editorship. The agreement was signed between the bookseller and the writer. The memoirs appeared in two volumes, and were immediately repudiated by Fouché's sons, who had no knowledge of them, and had Lerouge fined £1,200. Lerouge called Beauchamp as security. Fouché's intentions with regard to the publication of the memoirs was explained, as well as the transmission of the manuscript to the bookseller, Lerouge, by one of Fouché's friends, who wished to remain unknown, and the part that the editor, Beauchamp, had taken in their transformation.

Citizen Fouché, of the Convention, died Duke of Otranto. He had exiled others, and died in exile himself. That is but just. He was never a statesman, but an excellent intriguer. He had more skill than talent, and more tact than science. Public welfare lay in his way, he did not seek it, and only attached himself to his own welfare. He used up this career, useful

and easy to those handling more gold than power, or who only wish for one to obtain the other. Fouché never liked evil for the pleasure of committing it, he preferred good; but what government knows how to utilise that? The only interest which Fouché ever consulted, like his fellows and guests of the Empire, the only interest that they never sacrificed, was self-interest. When Fouché investigated the plot of the partisans of Bonaparte on the 18th of Brumaire, he applied himself secretly to obtain information regarding its object, the means and profits, without, however, appearing to examine it too carefully, lest he should be suspected by its authors; but he took precautions to be in keeping with all parties. He fraternised in advance with both victors and vanquished, so as to always have an asylum and a part among the stronger. His ministerial office made him necessary to the Directory and to the Bonapartists. He waited then to take his part on the morrow of the first explosion, when the attack against the national representation had already received the name of a violent measure. He then threw off his disguise and declared himself on the side of the fortunate general. Thus the point in his policy was to appear late enough to be sure of success, but in time to participate in it.

FOX.

"Pitt meurt, nos ennemis en ont porté le deuil;
Quand Fox mourut, sa perte excita leur sourire."

This marks the difference which existed between the two statesmen; this is the judgment delivered by Frenchmen against whom the English waged a war of extermination and coalition.

Fox was an old defender of liberty; Pitt was its mortal enemy.

Hatred of the French nation was the ruling passion of the son of Chatham. Love of liberty was the vital sentiment of the celebrated orator of the Parliamentary opposition.

Pitt was the servant of political corruption in England, absolutist coalition in Europe, and civil war and espionage in France. He subsidised fifteen years of continental war against the French nation to take away its territory and liberty; and paid the assassins of its rulers, ambassadors and representatives. Fox, on the contrary, constantly defended the principles of the French Revolution, while blaming its excesses; he was the apologist of the people who were endeavouring to free themselves, and the eloquent supporter of liberty in every place where it happened to be established. He strongly opposed the secret intrigues and diplomatic corruption of Pitt's ministry, and stigmatised it in these strong terms: "In these times," he said in the House of Commons, "honour only exists in domestic circles."

Both were English ministers under two different reigns; they bore opposite characters and had contrary principles.

Pitt had the Habeas Corpus Act suspended seven times. Fox never made an attempt against civil liberty.

Pitt invented the bill against foreigners and abused them with barbarity. Fox was the generous protector of the exiled or unfortunate foreigner.

When Pitt was in power, he had assassins and the emigrants in arms against General Bonaparte set down upon the coasts of France by vessels of the

Royal Navy. Fox came to Paris, after the Treaty of Amiens, to visit the conqueror of Italy and hero of Egypt. Fox only made his appearance at the Tuileries to ascertain for himself whether the policy of the First Consul of France was favourable to the establishment of European liberty.

The errors and hatreds of Pitt have not descended into the grave with him. A generalissimo of the absolute power, an Englishman, Wellington, has inherited them as a true European Cossack. Liberal ideas, civil courage, and love of humanity, which guided and honoured the political life of Fox, have not yet found a worthy successor.

Pitt gave way under the weight of European politics. Fox restored for an instant the edifice of constitutional liberty.

Moreover, the nations who regarded Pitt's fall as that of the implacable enemy of their rights, covered with regret and gratitude the tomb of their constant defender, Fox.

When the crimes of Hastings in India were exposed in the English Parliament, the Whig and Tory parties united in condemning him. Dundas, the friend of Pitt, was himself the author of the reports which accused Rumbold and Hastings, and were the means of bringing the guilty agents of the East India Company before the House. Consequently, in 1783, Fox drew up a bill for the reform of the administration of this country. He proposed to subordinate the directors to a commission appointed by the government. The new bill abolished monopolies, reinstated dispossessed natives in their property, and forbade war and conquests without the consent of the govern-

ment. He obtained a large majority in the Commons, but the Indian merchants formed a conspiracy against him, in which George III. personally took part. Fox's ministry fell, and with him disappeared all the hopes of the liberal movement on which the country had entered. The reform of the administration of India, nearly completed in 1783, was put back fifteen years. This is a striking example of the retrograde or stationary tendency of English politics during the half century which has just passed away (1833).

The consequence of the successful intrigue which got Fox out of power was a close alliance between the commercial aristocracy of the East India Company and the Tories. They shared the patronage, and the proprietors had permission to conquer, oppress, and exploit India with impunity. Tories occupied all the civil and military posts in the East, and they drew from them riches and influence which were of great use to the party in internal affairs. This state of things lasted during the whole war against France.

GENERAL FOY.

Two men disappeared from the world's stage within three days of one another, and their death is remembered differently in Europe.

One, an intrepid warrior, eloquent orator and virtuous citizen, died in the bosom of his family and received the care of friends, wife and children. No unhappy thought troubled his last moments, beyond the picture of the regret he was leaving and the idea of the services which he might yet have rendered. Scarcely was he dead than his fellow-citizens dispute

the honour of carrying his coffin, a hundred thousand men follow his remains, the people mourn his loss, and France adopts his children and raises a monument to him.

The other, the sovereign of a vast empire, died in a little village, ignored by the world; his brothers are far from him, and he scarcely receives the aid his condition demands. The cries of a Christian people whose massacre he had coldly contemplated for a long time pursued him and doubtless rang in his dying ears. Happy if his last moments, still enshrouded in mysterious darkness, have only been saddened by this memory and his insolence! His solitary remains traverse vast deserts in order to receive at St. Petersburg the last honours due to the rank he occupied. His last wishes are ignored, and Europe anxiously enquires who will be the inheritor of the formidable power which he swayed during four and twenty years.

One was the defender of the people's rights, the other the head of the Holy Alliance. Who would hesitate in choosing between these two dead men and their two reputations?

The *Journal des Débats* said in December, 1825, *that a party followed the funeral procession of General Foy.* What party other than the nation! What party but thirty million Frenchmen minus a few hundred priests, Jesuits, nobles, menials and valets of the court!

When one of the noble defenders of Greece died, all Greece adopted his orphans of tender years. Paris and France at the tomb of General Foy adopted his honourable and interesting family. It is the first national moment France has exhibited since 1795, the time of

the conventional reaction, followed by directorial, consular, imperial, royalist and ministerial reactions.

General Foy, who was more at home in combats at the tribune than in speculations on the Bourse, risked his fortune speculating in stocks, and he was about to experience grievous losses when M. Laffitte came to his rescue, without the general even suspecting it. M. Laffitte made a secret arrangement with his stockbroker, and put to his credit a sum amounting to that already lost. The general died without ever being aware of his colleague's kind action. When M. Laffitte's fortune was menaced in 1833, a public subscription was got up at Paris to enable him to keep his abode. General Foy's family, who had received more than a million by a similar patriotic offering, to which M. Laffitte had subscribed fifty thousand francs, sent a *thousand francs* to the subscription for M. Laffitte.

General Foy's opposition freaks and eloquence at the tribune have been greatly honoured. He was, in fact, both eloquent and vehement in opposition; but his speeches, collected by his followers and panegyrists, show that he was most often occupied with the army, whose spirit he largely entertained, and that he only defended the services and rights of the military men of the Empire, who were partly saved by him from the injustices and ingratitude of Louis XVIII., his ministers and the two Chambers.

General Foy, who was more a military man than a politician, was, without doubt, a fine defender of the people; but he might have been more national in his attacks against the emigrant and reactionary party, have further limited its absolute pretensions, put more restriction on the vague and extensive royal preroga-

tive, more actively combated the usurpatory principles of that ambitious and insatiable aristocracy which monopolised everything, functions, sinecures, places and offices, and have defended by better electoral laws the public rights of 33 million Frenchmen, reduced to helotism by 430 upstart burghers and excessive ministerialists.

General Foy, who was systematically stationary under the charter, was more for *statu quo* than progress, and more favourable to egoism than devotion ; opposing the ministry for the exclusive maintenance of the charter, and subjecting the country to this legal usurpation of Louis XVIII., he placed Frenchmen under the yoke of a constitutional deception under the form of a royal concession, the perfidious granting of which replaced France under the old *régime* and in the old ruts of the monarchy of Versailles. One day at the tribune General Foy exclaimed : " *Whoever wishes more than the charter or less than the charter is a bad citizen.*" Thus General Foy neither conceived, nor wished for, more liberty and rights for the nation than it had under the charter, and sanctioned, in the name of opposition called liberal, the perfidious 14th article of that charter.

It was thus the deputies forming the Legislative Assembly spoke in 1792, when asking for the constitution, the whole constitution, and nothing but the constitution. The Girondists and valiant royalists of the Legislative Assembly gave us, in this hypocritical language of the golden mean, the day of the 10th of August.

General Foy wrote the history of the Spanish war under Napoleon. This posthumous work, published by Baudouin at Paris in 1827, is analysed in a prospectus

by M. Tissot, who discovered in General Foy, the historian, an exalted mind and the fiery eloquence of a parliamentary orator. The subject he treated embraced the Revolution and the Empire, and was preceded by a political picture of the belligerent powers. Napoleon is treated with justice, without disparagement, and without flattery, *sine irâ et studio*. If General Foy, says M. Tissot, has not bent his knees before this prodigy of genius and glory, it is because in his heart he worships another idol: "liberty which allows itself to be looked in the face and served standing."

FRÉRON.

During the first period of the Revolution, from 1790 to 1794, Fréron was the associate of Marat; he edited *The People's Friend* with him, the expenses of which were paid by M. de Calonne, agent to the Counts of Provence and Artois.

Fréron and Marat incited the fanatics of the streets of Paris against the royalist prisoners of the Abbey and the Carmelites during the terrible days of the 2nd and 3rd September, 1792; they received their reward by being appointed to the National Convention. Fréron continued the *The People's Friend* with Marat during this assembly, and ceased not to incite to disorder and murder, demanding arms for the proletariat, who demanded the death of 150,000 of the aristocracy.

When the Convention decided that *representatives on missions* should be sent into the provinces, Fréron united himself to his worthy friend Barras, a sharper like himself, to ask for the representative mission in the

department of the Bouches-du-Rhône, preferring a commercial and moneyed town to less wealthy departments.

Fréron, like his compeer Marat, was charged with exaggerating all the measures of the government to such an extent that he got the Revolution hated and liberty degraded. Barras and he committed many excesses which did not come to light until they had imprisoned the wealthiest citizens, taken its name from the town of Marseilles, wasted the finances, and twice had the populace of Marseilles fired upon.

These atrocities and scandalous abuses of power were established by Cambon and Ramel in the name of the Committee of Finance. Barras and Fréron had appropriated to their own uses the sum of 800,000 francs with which they were entrusted; but they brought back a written report by a mayor stating that, on the route from Marseilles to Paris, the carriage of the two representatives had been overturned in a pond, all their effects damaged, and the portfolio of assignats entirely lost. Cambon, having gone over the financial accounts with Barras and Fréron, declared them state debtors, and obliged them to refund 800,000 francs to the public treasury. This report of Cambon's to the Committee of Public Safety was attached to the correspondence of the two representatives who came to the committee asking the favour of the adjournment of this matter, assuring them that they would produce documents justifying their conduct.

The 9th of Thermidor provided the receipt. The two spoilers hastened to excite reaction, have the members of the Committee of Public Safety exiled, and get possession of their places so as to be able to get rid

of the incriminatory correspondence and Cambon's report. Then Fréron, still the secret agent of the emigrant princes, edited their journal called the *People's Orator*, a worthy fellow of the late Marat's *People's Friend*. He started with a solemn invocation to the gloomy and lurid genius of Marat, publicly glorifying himself as having been a collaborator with him; then he urged his decorated youth and bands of elegant murderers against men of liberty, whom he signalled out for their poignards as terrorists and blood-drinkers; in one of his numbers, published at the end of 1795, he exclaimed, "You lack arms; dig up the ground on the market places, and in it you will find the bones of your parents." These incendiary leaves were sent gratis throughout the departments. On an agreed day the ice-house of Avignon was seen filled up with dead bodies of patriots; on another day were thrown into the Rhine, as from the Tarpeian rock into the Tiber, the men most devoted to their country; at Marseilles, the Fort of St. John was besieged by the slaughterers carrying a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other. Thus perished all the partisans of the Revolution who had been imprisoned under pretext of being judged by the tribunals; the *People's Orator* gave the signal and they were pitilessly slaughtered. Every reactionist constituted himself judge, accuser and executioner, singing the "Réveil du Peuple," composed by a Bordelais called Despaze, an associate of Fréron and Tallien.

Thus, at the command of these conventionalists, who lately showed themselves ardent revolutionists and exaggerated friends of liberty, the reaction of Thermidor caused the death of a greater number of patriots than

the reign of terror had of royalist conspirators and anti-revolutionary aristocrats.

GLUCK.

Gluck has been called in France the Shakespeare of Music (Marmontel, "Essay on the Revolutions of Music").

This comparison is in many respects just. These two great men are sublime in strong passions. They have even sometimes a momentary sweetness which springs less from the elegancies of art than the simple expression of sentiment and nature. But they descend to the low and trivial. Their fervour is not sustained enough, or rather they carry it to excess; and even as the English poet presents disgusting scenes to the eyes of spectators, the German musician may be reproached with too often tiring the ear with the screaming of the part singing and the noise of the orchestra. But his great superiority over Shakespeare is that in the dramatic procedure of his works all is well considered and combined with admirable art, and if it can be attacked with regard to details, it is always redeemed by the *ensemble*.

GRÉTRY.

He is one of the most amiable and spirited composers who honour France; he has succeeded in disguising, by music full of melody, grace and truth, the negligences of Sedaine's verses and the dryness of the lines of Marmontel. Some bad poets have concluded from this that good verses are not suitable to music, and that a composer should prefer prose rhymed after the manner of Richard Cœur-de-Lion and Zémire and Azor to the

sublime harmony so admired in the choruses of Esther and Athalie. Full of this idea favourable to mediocrity, several of our operatic authors have encouraged it to their own profit; and their works are exclusively written after the maxim of the satirical Figaro: "What is not worth saying is sung." But several great examples destroy this error, which is too ridiculous to be maintained. On this subject Grétry said in his "Essays on Music": I should like, in order that a musician may obtain the full satisfaction of his works, that words destined for music should be carefully looked after. If words are bad, it is said, put them to music—they will be found good. I say the contrary, they will be found detestable. Musical language has a stronger accent than ordinary declamation. It is thus clear that the more you declaim the more you accentuate and make the flatness of the verses apparent. Have not all Italian composers practised on the poems of Metastasio, who rightly holds a place in the front rank of lyrical dramatists among the Italians? and do not all of them owe their success and their happiest inspirations to the charms of his poetry? Under the influence of the proud court of Louis XIV., where everything appeared cold and strained, through wishing to appear great, but for the counsels and even the orders of the Italian Lulli, Quinault, courtier though he was, would have given himself up more to the inspiration of his genius, and would not have treated of love in madrigals, nor have retailed the cold maxims which roused the anger and injustice of Boileau. But whatever the severe and ill-tempered legislator of the French Parnassus may have said, the poet who wrote "Athys" and "Armide" remains none the less one of

our chief lyrical writers, and several pieces of his operas are quoted by the exclusive La Harpe as models to be followed. Gluck and Piccini certainly admired Quinault's verses, but happily they did not find them too fine for their music. Among the scores which our two lyric theatres can place against foreign compositions, "Dido," "Œdipe à Colonne," "Iphigénie en Tauride," "La Vestale," "Stratonice," and "Euphrosine" will always be placed in the front rank. Also the fine verses of Marmontel, Guillard, Hoffmann, and Jouy have not prevented Piccini, Sacchini, Gluck, Grétry, and Mehul from producing admirable songs. Elevation of thought, harmony of style, elegant and correct lines, far from embarrassing the musician, inspire him; whilst common thoughts and prosaic lines cool his genius. Only bad poets are partisans of bad verses.

In perfecting comic opera Grétry created the style. "L'Ami de la Maison," "Le Sylvain," "L'Amant Jaloux," "Le Tableau Parlant," and "Zémire et Azor" are masterpieces; innovators have produced nothing better, and those who wish to excel now will be right in imitating Grétry in all the admirable things there are in his compositions, that is to say, grace, naturalness, and dramatic expression. Without doubt Grétry did not excel in everything, but in seeking to do better than him in some respects, care must be taken not to do away with the good he did in others. His accompaniments might be improved upon and surpassed as regards harmony, but in melody fortunate is he who can come up to them. As Grétry used to say, care should be taken above all things not to put the statue in the orchestra and the pedestal on the stage, to

neglect having singing on the stage, and not transform the voice into a bird-organ. . . . It is possible, after the example given by Rossini, to bring about a kind of revolution in musical form and fancy embellishment, which are always subject to the caprices of fashion; the descending scale may replace brilliant and delicate cadence, but what is natural and expressive never changes. Audiences of all times, whatever differences there may be in accompaniments and the harmonic part, will always be charmed with pure and true strains, and local and natural melody. Grétry has written fascinating airs, which are repeated everywhere, and serve for poetical words in several ballets.

This composer has left many works, which new methods, fashion or envy have given over to criticism. This fertile musician has even been reproached with the vastness of his production, in the same way as the richness of the Mexican and Peruvian mines has been objected to. It is said that if he had taken longer over each of his works, and matured each score, complete harmony would be found in them, and less vague meanings and incorrect passages. But could Grétry renounce this agreeable freedom, sweet melody and truthfulness of local colouring which give so much charm to his works, at the wish of harmonists and musical *savants?* What other composer knew better than the author of "Richard" how to find the true expression of passions, and make declamation appear natural in singing? What proves it is, that in spite of the caprices of fashion, which exercise a still greater destructive influence in music than in other arts, Grétry's airs, which portray lively sentiment or strong passion, have, during fifty years, preserved

their freshness and novelty, because they are true. Grétry foretold our musical glory; he said that, being placed between the Germans and the Italians, we could borrow the strong and rich harmony of the former and the brilliant and expressive melody of the latter; that our language, manners, and even physical constitution would keep us from the exaggeration of these two nations; and finally, that France would produce musicians worthy of the admiration of European *dilettanti*. Grétry lived long enough to see his prophecies fulfilled. He encouraged the first attempts, and afterwards applauded the masterpieces, of the melodist and dramatist Dalayrac, De Berton, Lesneur, Méhul, Boïeldieu, Catel, Dellamaria, Kreutzer, and Nicolo.

To praise Grétry, one must combine in oneself the man who tests, the man who observes, and the man who paints. To that must be united general views in order to comprehend the philosophy of a science like music, which all people judge with different impressions.

Grétry, as a composer, owes as much to his philosophical mind as to his musical talent. If the most perfect musician is he who best designs his characters, who is most natural and comical in his dialogues, who in recitation has most delicacy, discretion, or decorum, who recites passions in keeping with their shades and thoughts; and finally, if music is a skilful estimation and intellectual composition, Grétry is the first of musicians. But if it is an art of impulse, innovation, and imagery it must be agreed that Grétry is less distinguished by this character, this melodious impressiveness and admirable pathos,

unless it be in the airs of "Richard" and "Sylvain," in the quartet of "Lucille," and in some of the airs of "Zémire et Azor" and "Liska." Grétry frequently resembles Voltaire when he writes musical, intellectual, sparkling and picturesque prose. He learnt music in Italy, but he does not often carry into the French lyric stage that graceful feeling and seductive melody which characterise the Italian school, and that something indefinable which finds its way to the soul.

Grétry endowed comic opera with sixty operas; he was its true founder, together with Dalayrac, who was even more musical, and quite as productive as himself. In the arts improving is creating; Grétry and Dalayrac produced this improvement on the simple music of Duni and Philidor. Before them, comic opera was a kind of quite secondary spectacle under the name of "Théâtre des Italiens;" music was then of little importance as a dramatic means, and only served to enliven character pieces and grotesque Italian ones, or to mingle the tunes of street ballads and doleful songs. A few of Grétry's predecessors made some progress, pointed out the way and had some glimpses of the exalted goal to which comic opera might attain; they made use of music in depicting sentiments and passions, set the stage going with harmonies, and doubled the effect of words by lending them the charm of their strains.

The funeral processions of Grétry and Dalayrac, who died about the same time, were triumphal. These two masters of the lyric stage were the recipients of spontaneous honours which envy and pride in vain tried to turn to ridicule.

As soon as these two fruitful authors rested in their

graves they began to receive justice. In the theatre comedians very much liked composers and poets whose works fell to the public domain. Dating from this time, fatal to the families and heirs of men of genius, comedians became grateful through speculation as they were ungrateful by interest.

In his will Grétry left his heart to the town of Liège, celebrated as having been the birthplace of this great composer and intellectual philosopher. The heir did not wish to execute the testator's wish; a trial took place, and the police of Paris wished to interfere in a dispute which did not concern them. It gave rise to a conflict which was the subject of writings and judicial proceedings. The withholder of Grétry's heart gained his suit in the first instance, but lost it in the court of appeal. The decree was sent to the ministerial officer, and an armed force put at his disposal for having it executed. It was then that the Prefect of Police raised a protest, and the first decree was annulled by royal ordinance, under the pretext that inhumations and exhumations are not a judicial but an administrative resort. Does not public order demand that the Prefect of Police of Paris, whose jurisdiction does not extend beyond the limits prescribed by law, should not extend it further, and make testators' wishes and the public power of judgments illusory?

On the 11th of February, 1827, the anniversary of Grétry's birth, the house in which he was born in the quarter "outre-Meuse" was illuminated; at the entry of the street a triumphal arch was erected, surmounted with a lyre. That is how the people of Liège honour arts and celebrated artists.

GUIZOT.

M. Guizot, a Protestant of Nîmes, devoted himself to the Restoration which slaughtered his co-religionists and fellow-citizens at the door of the electoral assembly. On the return of Napoleon from the Isle of Elba, he was dismissed from the office of general secretary of the Ministry of the Interior, which had been given to him by the Abbé Montesquiou, and he went to Ghent to give Louis XVIII. an account of the spirit of France. Having returned with this prince in the following of the foreigners, he repeatedly occupied and left public functions, at first following the fortune of Decazes, and later on the opportunties opened to his ambition. Having become a minister under Louis Philippe, he made himself the propagator of the subversive doctrines of the Revolution of July, wishing it to appear as if accidental and a simple resistance in the name of the law, and he proclaimed the unpopularity of government as a state maxim. This was loudly expressing contempt for the national wish and the abolition of the sovereignty of the nation. Besides, this same doctrinaire wrote in his book, "On the Government of France" (pp. 205-207), that true legitimacy, that of divine right, having been for a long time suspended, was not, however, destroyed; that it had been, and was fit to become again, an excellent institution, and that it would be a strange blindness not to receive it with a hearty welcome, and attempt by great effort to profit by all its advantages.

"All Frenchmen," said he then, "vie with one another in love for the doctrine of legitimacy. They know that without this doctrine there is neither

repose, happiness, nor honour for France, and that even the existence of our country is inseparably bound up with the preservation of this principle."

And the professor of these absolutist maxims is now Minister of Public Instruction in France!

This great parliamentary tactician left the chair of History at the Sorbonne to divert his strategic genius into the debates of the Chamber of Deputies. After having spoken to his students on civilisation and England, he disciplined his colleagues to ministerial obedience.

His acts as a minister at two epochs, in 1830 and 1833, are flagrantly opposed to his writings as a professor and author. But the theorist did not trouble himself with this discrepancy. On the 6th of March, 1833, he upheld in the tribune that the votes of deputies installed in revocable offices should be free, but on condition that they remained silent; that is to say, for want of blind devotees and mechanical voters he wanted mutes and legislative eunuchs.

The trivial maxims with which he adorns the tribune, to beguile old and new deputies, are more those of a pedant than a statesman; his elocution, full of sophisms and metaphysical figures, betrays more of the History Professor than the Minister of a monarchy. He is the miniature Machiavelli of mediocrity. He shines in the midst of darkness like a flash of lightning among clouds.

A great administrator or statesman cannot be improvised.

Full of old chronicles, M. Guizot's mind always dwells on the past, towards which he pretends to

make his contemporaries go back. He exhibits only aristocratic tendencies in power, he who is sprung from the middle classes; tendencies in favour of the Catholic clergy, he who was brought up at Geneva in the bosom of Protestantism; tendencies towards absolute monarchy, he the liberal professor of the Sorbonne; and he, a minister of the Revolution of July, leans to the traditions of the Charter and has a decided weakness for the violent means and despotism in use under the Restoration.

Since 1830, M. Guizot has justified his servile emigration to Ghent in 1815; on the 16th February, 1833, he made an official announcement to the noble peers of the ministerial bench, as to irrevocable legitimists, to prove to them that the new government of the 7th August, since which time he had found himself unfettered in action, had bestowed its special protection, and afterwards its favour, on the vanquished; that it had been kind, indulgent, and partial to them; that it had neglected nothing to draw them towards itself, to strengthen itself against revolutionists by their aid and alliance; that it had adopted and put into practice the greater part of the maxims of the Restoration; and finally, that it would be blindness and ingratitude on their part not to recognise so many benefits. To obtain the law of putting us in a state of siege, M. Guizot observed to the docile peerage that the government was still far from having brought over all the revolutionary passions to the conditions of public order, but with the co-operation of the peers it would succeed in establishing the stability of the throne and the consequences of the monarchical principle. M. Guizot excels in hypocritical statements

and equivocations. He cannot keep up the Restoration by the counsels, he continues it by his works; he feeds the hopes of the legitimist notabilities, whom he calls to the aid of a royalty, new only so far as concerns the person in whom it is invested.

M. Guizot has sophisms ready for every matter: "*Quidquid dixerit argumentabor.*" When the deputies attack the university tax as fatal to instruction and unconstitutional (art. 69 of the Charter having guaranteed liberty of teaching), M. Guizot runs to the tribune to declare that, "every law and every tax which has been approved by the legislature, and has received royal sanction, ought to be obeyed, and is not unconstitutional" (sitting of the 18th of April, 1833).

All doctrines are good in his eyes if they can be made profitable: a Protestant, he appeals to Catholic influence; a philosophical professor, he teaches despotism; the nation's mandatory, he proclaims unpopularity; the minister of a free government, he adopts laws of intimidation; unknown but for the periodical press, he declares himself the mortal enemy of the liberty of thinking and printing; a member of the council of a constitutional king, he gives the leader of the armed force, charged with the repression of parties, pitiless orders; a political writer, he cannot support the sovereignty of the people as a social principle; in the reviews and newspapers he is intent on substituting for it the subtle principle of the sovereignty of reason, doubtless to monopolise it to his pamphlets and ministerial eloquence.

He is attributed with inflexibility of character, and has but stubbornness of mind; he has no will, but a system; no courage, but obstinacy; he is not a states-

man, but only a political pedant; he is the enemy of liberty, and disguises his hatred by declaring himself hostile to the revolutionary spirit. He said in the national tribune, in the presence of French deputies, that France had too much liberty . . . a strange assertion coming from a professor of history who wrote the "Annals of the Revolution in England." His accession to power is a premium given to talent and study; and it is this upstart who has banished capacity, intellectual celebrity, and ability without landed property from the electorate. He has doctrines as a deputy, and doctrines as a minister; he calls himself a progressive when he is no longer in power, and belongs to the opposite party when he holds a portfolio; there you have the thermometer of his political sentiments. He belonged to the Help Yourself Society, and yet proposed the law against associations. His past life must be studied to see how it conflicts with his present!

M. Guizot depends, besides, very much on the instruments he makes use of: Is he devoted to himself? he is intriguing and anti-revolutionary; is he a professor? he gives out a few historic truths, which he colours up, but which were known before he uttered them; is he a state-counsellor? he gives the Restoration the best means of anti-revolutionary policy; is he a deputy? he is forced to recognise a few half-principles, which he arranges with his sophisms and starched eloquence; is he a minister? he knows no power but force, intimidation, unpopularity, and the necessity of constantly struggling and resisting at any price.

As an author, however, M. Guizot has manifested a wide and philosophical insight in history. There his

strong and clear reason rests on truth and knowledge. He favours the enfranchisement and grandeur of the human mind, and he has been persecuted by the enemies of good sense and enlightenment.

As a Professor of History at the Sorbonne, he attracted a prodigious concourse of hearers, who assiduously followed his lectures. With an eloquent, lucid style, he made an historical summary of all doctrines; and his oratory, always grand and almost poetical, gave great interest to the most abstract questions. He drew from the dust of centuries and various systems grave and serious reflections, which serve for instruction in politics. But ambition and vanity having transformed this professor into a minister, he thought himself a statesman, forgot his origin, and injured his destiny as well as his reputation.

In his haughty vanity he regards himself as a man necessary to France, and looks upon himself as the only possible minister. Unpopular by nature, he is still more so by policy. He has the pretension to believe himself, and present himself to power, as the best obstacle that could be offered to the revolution of 1789 and that of 1830. No man, either in the sphere of exalted ability or in the crowd of vain mediocrities, has shown so much ambition.

He is mistaken as to the times and the nation, he has misunderstood the spirit of the century and the character of France. After two radical and popular revolutions he wished for:

1. Hereditary peerage, entails, titled estates and large property.

2. A government which reproduced the Restoration as imposed by the foreigner, and brought back things for want of persons.

That is his line of deviation. The following are his means of operating and his progress:

1. To resist democratic instincts with a system of forcible coercion and legal intimidation. What does it matter how these reactionary acts and exceptional laws destroy national liberty?

2. To detach France from other governments analogous in constitution, to repress reform and democratic laws and tendencies among foreigners, so as to extinguish the revolutionary spirit in France, always threatening and anarchical in his eyes.

3. To subject liberty to fiscal conditions, preventive laws, enormous penalties, and even military tribunals.

4. To subject equality to the privileges and monopolies of the middle classes, and bestow political rights on money and property, the principal social securities.

5. To organise society and arm power to the utmost by investing it with the opinion and vote of public functionaries.

6. Liberty is only license; social equality is only despoiling and turbulent anarchy.

Such is the Guizot system, a confused parody of the old system, disguised despotism and revived aristocracy; and to realise it he only asks for the monopoly of the elections. That is why he wished to be Minister of the Interior, to expel from the elective Chamber all those representing national opinion.

M. Guizot only aspired to the Presidency of the Council so as to give uniformity and energy to his project for the organisation of France by the complete and exclusive triumph of the middle class.

M. Guizot wished to subject the mass of public

functionaries to numerous refinements, so that they could be blindly subjugated to the word of the master.

M. Guizot proposed to struggle, to struggle continually, against the revolutionary spirit which since 1789 has existed in the well-to-do classes, the poorer classes, and even in all our institutions. The state of organised war is the governmental basis and administrative method of the haughty set of the doctrinaires.

M. Guizot is a perpetual scourge to constitutional government; in his doctrinal vanity he thinks himself essential to the monarchy. However, he lacks support and popularity, and his existence is only bound up in his insatiable ambition and ridiculous vanity.

M. Guizot's political life is made up of reactionary plans and shocking recantations; his passions are antagonistic to liberty, and he is the most obstinate adversary of all popular feelings.

In his ministry of 1835, M. Guizot showed himself so unacquainted with the manners of his country and the spirit of the time that he believed he was right in proposing, with a shameful demoralisation, the most pitiless rigour against both the press and jury. He set up a principle of informing, and gave it a premium and legal sanction; he violated the Courts of Justice and decreed sentences hitherto unknown in any civilised country; he added imprisonment to exile in a distant country, and wished to have those military men who were accused of treason and rebellion sent before civil judges. Is it not thus that a politician raises up insurmountable barriers between himself and the country?

Always clever in breaking up and destroying, he has exhibited no talent for preserving or creating.

In times of trouble he seeks retirement, and only shows himself after action and success. He is a hidden machine in the ministry, that works secretly as if the movement came from elsewhere. He is a great logician who never comes to a conclusion, and an untiring exponent of sophisms suggested by theories or necessitated by events. He is an imposing and shrewd commentator on all accomplished facts, and lauds them to the skies, or runs them down according as they bring him good or bad fortune.

As a minister, M. Guizot affects a haughty and patronising tone in judging persons, and an incisive tone in discussing things. On all occasions he has a pretended air of patience and tranquillity, and a hypocritical appearance of justice and benevolence which happily deceives no one.

As soon as he is out of power, he becomes like the author of evil, and exhibits nothing but anger, spite and resistance; and sinister predictions issue from his mouth and his pen.

He is the Calvin of politics. A like tactician, he has equal ambition for ruling, the same subtleness of mind, attempted intimidation, perfidiousness of persecution, circumscription in the double domain of men and ideas, and even the same concentration in a narrow circle of views and facts. The doctrinaires pretend that the presidency of the council should be nominal, and their power and influence real. They proclaim themselves necessary, and mediocrities only are needed to surpass them. They employ underhand and secret practices, and vaunt their openness. They crawl in the Tuileries and swagger in the Chamber of Deputies. They wish to make no concessions but to get victories.

They like power for the sake of fortune, while proclaiming that they like it simply on account of their ideas. They share no initiative, but take all.

A methodical mind, subtle reasoner and political pedant, cool orator, careful minister, ambitious hypocrite, systematic professor, unpopular by nature, making use of enlightenment for despotism and of power to attain riches, knowing nought but intimidation for governing and administering exceptional laws, M. Guizot is a kind of sphinx, placed with his menacing immobility and enigmas in the avenue of royalty.

M. Guizot has shown his true colours in two metaphysical, vague, and obscure pieces which he inserted in the numbers of *The Press* of the 21st and 22nd of November, 1837, concerning the democracy of which he attempted to decry the principle and wipe out the name.

Indeed, his one great idea is to undermine the principle of the sovereignty of the people; and he is continually waging war against this political dogma, admitted in France since 1789, in order to replace it by the pretended sovereignty of right. He pretends that man only receives binding laws from a higher sphere than that of liberty.

It only remained for M. Guizot, after having recognised right as the only sovereignty, to vainly declare himself the minister of it, and that is what he has done.

A subtle and dishonest doctor, he puts forward feeble objections and false systems, which have been rejected all the world over, so as to have the easy merit of triumphing over them. Beaten in his anti-social theories, he pretends that he only made a simple metaphysical dissertation, accepting an abstract

ground which he did not choose. Towards the end of 1837 we saw him repulsed before public good sense, and renounce a system which he could not hold against a polemic for a few days:

The theorists are exclusive, they have been excluded;

They are imperious, they have been overruled;

They are hypocritical, they have been shown up;

They are intolerant, they cannot be tolerated;

They are haughty, they have been humiliated;

They are pedants, they have been sent to school;

They wished to inspire fear, intimidation has ruined them;

They resisted, and the movement has borne them away;

They set themselves outside the charter, they have been put out of power;

They vaunt their moderation, they are magnified.

The theorists, who were witnesses or instigators of the internal troubles, have sown discord and hatred everywhere; they have poisoned passions instead of calming them; they have made timorous chambers discontented; they have carried projects with exceptional laws and violent measures, possessed all minds with a detestable system of suspicion and intimidation in order to disguise the reaction and terror which would very soon have finished by separating constitutional monarchy from its sincerest partisans, and have isolated power and enfeebled the nation.

HOUDON.

Houdon was a celebrated French sculptor who made busts of a great number of illustrious men and the statue of Washington. Several of his works are well known;

his "Frileuse" is one which recalls the perfection of antiquity. His "Ecorché" has been exceedingly useful to artists. In it he gives evidence of profound anatomical knowledge; but the idea is not his own. The famous statue of the "Ecorché," by Cigoli, was known in Italy; a statue which was often moulded in wax, plaster, and even in bronze, and which has served as a study for students for a long time. Cigoli was assisted in the execution of this wax figure by Theodore Mayern, a professor of anatomy at the hospital of St. Marie - Nouvelle at Florence, a celebrated professor, whom M. Portal, also celebrated in Paris medicine, has forgotten to mention in his "History of Anatomy."

Houdon's other most remarkable works are: Morpheus, Diana, which serves as a model in all studios, the fine seated statue of Voltaire, placed in the peristyle of the Théâtre Français, and the Saint Scholastica, destined for the church of Les Invalides, but which was transformed into a statue of Philosophy in 1795. M. Quatremère de Quincy read a biography of Houdon at the annual meeting of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in the month of October, 1829. Houdon executed a bust of the tragedian Larive in the part of Brutus. It is not only a very striking likeness, but is one of the most beautiful and expressive heads one can imagine, the most beautiful probably that Houdon has executed.

VICTOR HUGO.

Endowed with a bold imagination and lofty mind, he often gives extraordinary and unlooked-for proportions to his lyric poetry. In his abrupt and jerky progress he encounters gigantic ideas which suit his

poetical creations. If he does not always have the inspirations of genius, he sometimes has its frenzies. He would have liked to follow the fantastic footsteps of Lord Byron, but the latter is more cleverly original and naturally more eccentric. Hugo seems to seek irregularities more than beauties, and more often seeks singularity than originality. The English, who have many lyric, dramatic and epic poets, have given Lord Byron the characteristic name of *eccentric genius*. The French, so full of praise and enthusiasm for what they possess, have not yet thus signalised the transcendent talent of the poet of the *Voix intérieures!*

In this collection we admire the variety of style, the most brilliant strophes being frequently found side by side with fantastic passages.

At one time the poet shows himself idealistic, like a romanticist, at another stern, like a philosopher. Matter is plentiful under his skilful hands, and the workman is indefatigable. For the subject of his poems he takes contempt, love and sorrow, but seldom popularity, liberty, or country. He delights in royal tombs and affectionately immortalises dethroned kings. He has, however, shown feeling in pieces V., XI., and XIV. of his collection. His odes to Olympia, his Brother, and the Triumphal Arch are much praised. His verses are full of tears and profound sufferings. The poet shows a generous feeling of sadness on seeing that the name of his father has been omitted on the Triumphal Arch, that rock of public recognition. To reproach this omission, he manifests a strain so filial and religious, that the reader remains pensive and melancholy, seeing so much injustice and perhaps hatred still attached after death to names dear to the

country aud to those to whom nothing remains but memory.

He was moved to pity at seeing, at Goritz (1837), the discrowned body of the king of ordinances go down without noise or pomp. He seems to console himself in seeing Charles X. occupy an honourable place in the vaults of the counts of Strasaldo, whose arms, by a strange coincidence, are numerous *fleurs de lis* and two broken sceptres.

Victor Hugo thus made himself the bard of misfortune and the courtier of the grave. He endeavoured to overcome the forgetfulness and put an end to the silent indifference of Frenchmen for the Gothic reign of the Restoration.

Let who can explain the ways of poets!

How is it that his verses, destined for the future, are but admiration for the past and enmity for the present?

How is it that his muse, which pretends to have reason for its guide and truth as its aim, has inspired him with a solemn and exclusive homage for a king whose despotism alone overturned the throne?

Why do his great compositions only appear after eruptions of the political volcano, during which he remains quiet and unnoticed?

How is it that this calm and severe voice, seldom national, however, like those of Béranger and Casimir Delavigne, only celebrated La Vendée and its martyrs in 1825? The poet of the Restoration will never be the poet of the people.

Why is it that this poet, who boasts of being a stranger to all parties, and thinks of soaring above human passions, offers all his lyrical prayers for the

banished ones of Goritz, and only claims the honour of royal tombs in the case of Charles X.?

Why in 1830 did Victor Hugo, the historic and ardent defender of the traditions of absolute monarchy, lower the flag of Fleurus and Jena before the oriflamme of Mansoure and Bovines?

How is it that events and opinions which draw forth cries of admiration from the French people scarcely reach the mind or attention of Victor Hugo, or obtain from him only a smile of pity or disdain?

Cold and severe amid the struggle of ambitious and political interests, why does he never declare himself as opposed to unjust power, as he is to an ungrateful people?

Why is it that with the profound thinker and sublime poet monarchical and legitimist events alone find any echo?

Why has the author of the "Ode à la Colonne," which might have been the most intelligent echo of liberty, only sung of that glory which costs the human race so dear, without being profitable to it.

> In his eyes La Vendée is sister to Thermopylæ.
> *Ode* 23, "*La Liberté.*"

He is the Walter Scott of poetry. Like the Scotch novel writer, he only knows and loves the past; he sings of the paladins, worthies, knights and feudal oppressors of the nations of Europe. His lyre only sounds on the towers of dungeons and the battlements of lordly dwellings; his muse takes pleasure in traversing the ruins of palaces and the remains of castles and abandoned temples; he detests wars that nations make to gain their independence, and only extols the knightly exploits which enslaved them.

The history of the Middle Ages is his cherished domain; he disowns the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to which he owes his enlightenment, inspirations, and reputation as a poet; he calls liberty "*sœur auguste des rois*," who were always its most implacable enemies.

Having only found heroes in La Vendée, he wrote an ode in honour of liberty. When the Romans delivered over Christians to the wild beasts of the arena, they did not celebrate Christianity.

This idolising poet of kings and olden times cannot support the new era of civilisation. He puts the blind and unlimited despotisms of sultans before the public liberties of Europe, and places absolute royalty before national constitutions. It might be said that poets are ordained to be the precentors of superstition and the heralds of slavery.

It is in love of liberty and country that modern poets will find beautiful inspirations and new songs, and not in party spirit and the bad passions of royalism.

The poetic productions of Victor Hugo resemble the fruits of a virgin soil which, by their strange flavour, astonish the taste, but are not, however, displeasing to palates not easily irritated. One likes to see the original productions of a venturesome imagination which launches the writer into unknown spheres, where he is sometimes in peril, but whence he never issues without glory.

In his odes, Victor Hugo is so; he has often succeeded, and sometimes failed. The fine "Chant de Néron" alone reveals a poet of a superior order; but the "Ronde du Sabbat" is a conception lacking both charm and reason.

Victor Hugo wished to create, instead of making use of creation; moreover, he is at times a phantasmagorist instead of being a painter. He is a giant who delights in burying himself in dark forests or traversing the glittering sand of deserts; but he will be solitary there. He forgets the passions and pleasures of the world, disdains the realities of life, and one might say that he ignores the feelings, sorrows, hopes, and joys of the human soul. His intelligence would be genius if he consented to live in civilised society; but he has leapt into an imaginary world.

Encouraged by the well-deserved success of "Les Orientales," "Les Feuilles d'Automne," and "Notre-Dame de Paris," M. Hugo has thrown himself headlong into the new school, which is bolder and less scrupulous than the old, not having principles and a reputation to keep up. This vicious path, instead of leading him to originality, leads him into the trivial and absurd, even in the midst of rich poetry. In his dramas he was at first content with extravagance, while preserving some principles of truth and beauty; that was the period of *Hernani*. But instead of modifying his dramatic method, he has exceeded it, and composed monstrous works like "Le Roi s'Amuse," in which he has shaken off all morality and propriety, altering historic facts and characters, and entirely forgetting the dignity of art. These attempts have revealed the absolute impotence and sterility of the author in the conception and development of dramatic action. It is the result of that systematic disdain which the young writers of the nineteenth century have affected for the masterpieces of the seventeenth and eighteenth. It is now proved that if Victor Hugo possesses the imagination

and qualities of a poet, he does not possess the qualities necessary for a dramatic poet. His works of this kind, whether in prose or verse, have all a most singular character of originality, but not one is free from triviality and tediousness.

M. Victor Hugo has been reproached with not having displayed in any of his dramas those grand and powerful thoughts which impress spectators, and attract our minds in ancient drama and the masterpieces of the modern stage, such as in the "Œdipe Roi," Shakespeare's "Hamlet," in "Les Horaces" as well as in "Athalie." But M. Hugo has found this dominant thought of drama in his piece "Lucrèce Borgia." In this the author has sustained the main idea till the end, without wandering into useless declamation or losing it in insignificant episodes. The poet has become more of a logician, he has given his heroes something natural and human. He has depicted passions more truly, and allowed his spectators to become interested and affected. He has given up his rough, severe, fantastic, never-ending and ceaselessly descriptive poetry.

INGRES.

This great artist was at first rejected by public opinion, and voluntarily exiled himself among the masterpieces of art at Rome and Florence for more than twenty years. On his return to Paris he was received as a distinguished man, though people still strongly criticised him.

His painting, although very original, is not irreproachable. One has often great difficulty in grasping all the poetry of his pictures on account of their

dull colour and hard forms. It is said that M. Ingres chose his own public, and only appealed to art-lovers capable of understanding him. Besides, he has had passionate admirers; the periodical press declared itself unanimously in his favour. His pictures made a sensation at the Salon; among others, his "Martyre de Saint Symphorien," exhibited in 1833.

But the reputation of M. Ingres undoubtedly rests on his ceiling of the "Déification d'Homère au Musée." Since then the talent of the artist has much increased; he has matured and shows up better than ever in his full-length portrait of Napoleon, a work exhibited to so many critics who went to trouble M. Ingres at Rome. His prevailing idea was that he would never be appreciated or understood in France. He did not like to make any concession to a taste which was not his own, and was strongly repugnant to him. After having passed some years in Florence, he nevertheless came to see how matters stood in Paris, and was received in such a distinguished manner there that he could hardly believe it.

M. Ingres is ruled as much by his genius as by the consciousness of his art. He works with all the qualities and even the faults of great artists. In his compositions he forgets too much to appeal to and move the masses. He is too mysterious and hieroglyphic in his conceptions. He looks upon his spectators as initiated persons rather than as sensible beings. Thus he very much removes the object of painting and mistakes the true mission of an artist endowed with observation, execution and genius.

Why has he produced such crude and grey tones in his pictures, and why has he so great a disdain for

colours? (He had not studied the Venetian School, Tintoretto, Paul Veronese, and Titian.) Air does not circulate round his groups and crowded figures; these defects are visible among most admirable types of the beautiful and true. He is sometimes *Raphaelesque*, above all when he employs the grace and sweetness of his talent in painting children.

He produces little; too little for lovers of art. He seeks neither reputation, nor, it is said, riches; he is conscious of his talent and lives in the independence of the artist; he conceives more than he executes, and yet has carried the resources of practice to a high degree. He has meditated much on art, its conditions, and its moral and philosophical part in the destiny of humanity. He is timid, and hesitates to produce his ideas and pictures. They are regretted as soon as they have left his studio, so little does he seek public notice, fearing its judgments and afraid to acknowledge his productions as imperfect.

Too much occupied with the absolute beauties of art, he has become excessively severe on himself; he has never thought, like many other artists, of putting himself at the service of a political or literary idea. His greatest interest, and the one which dominates all others, is art. The artist lives with his art in solitude and meditation; he is like one of the great painters of the sixteenth century who lived in seclusion, strangers to all that went on in the country around them.

M. Ingres studied the moral philosophy of painting and its influence on civilisation; he is indifferent to everything except the interest and progress of art. However governments may agitate around him and his studio, or new powers be established, or royal dynasties

come into existence, his talent and pencil are never at the service of a single political, or even literary, idea. It is in the silence of his studio that he collects his thoughts and produces what he has long meditated. When Napoleon filled Europe with his renown, and French artists only worked to reproduce his triumphs, Ingres was not quiet enough in France, and went to seek peace in Italy, in the country of the illustrious dead.

IGNARD.

This Provencial deputy distinguished himself in the Legislative Assembly by his attacks against the ministers of Louis XVI., second-class traitors in that court officially allied with the despots of the north.

Ignard had traces of a passionate eloquence, which had great effect among that assembly, composed in great part of hypocritical royalists and constitutional Girondists.

It was Ignard who, in the debates on the ministry, which people wished to accuse of recent acts, cried in a stentorian voice: "The responsibility of ministers is death." Public indignation was then very high against M. de Narbonne, Minister for War, a natural and incestuous son of Louis XV. and the agent of the conspiracies of the court with the foreigner.

After Ignard was appointed to the National Convention he did not show himself any more at the tribune, unless it was at the time of the 31st of May, when he was associated with the Girondists, whose federal fanaticism he shared.

JEFFERSON

In his youth he studied law, and was attached to the bar of the General Court until the American Revo-

lution, which opened up a new career for his talents. From 1769 he was an elected member of one of the Chambers of the colonial Assembly of Virginia, in which he showed his zeal for the cause of the English colonists who were then being oppressed by the mother country. The colonial Chamber was dissolved in consequence of its resistance to the metropolitan yoke, which became heavier and more difficult to bear each year. Jefferson, then only twenty-six years of age, was one of the energetic promoters of an association for preventing the use of English goods. It was a deadly thrust to a mercantile government.

Later on Jefferson formed one of those correspondence committees at Raleigh which contributed to give a uniform direction to the acts of the various American Colonies and prepared the way for their federation. From this time Jefferson is constantly placed at the head of the boldest and cleverest defenders of the people's rights. Being charged, in 1774, with drawing up instructions for the deputies of Virginia, he greatly furthered the question of the relations of the colonies with Great Britain, by establishing that these relations could only henceforward be the same as those which bound England to Scotland before the Act of Union, or to Hanover since the accession of the Protestant line; that is to say, that the two countries ought to have the same executive power without any other political connection. This doctrine so much exceeded the prevailing opinion, that Jefferson admits in his memoirs that he could not then attach a single patriot to it. However, a few years afterwards this same doctrine was in its turn surpassed, by the unanimous acclamations of the Americans when they completely freed themselves from the English yoke. It

is one of the most remarkable of those sudden conversions which often come about in revolutions.

Hindered by his bad health from sitting in the first American Convention, of which he had been elected a member, Jefferson, none the less, paid tribute to his country by addressing instructions to his colleagues whose views appeared too bold, which were made public in England with remarks by the impetuous Edmund Burke. In 1775 Jefferson proceeded to take his place in the Congress of Philadelphia. He was only twenty-nine years of age; he was, none the less, placed immediately amongst the chiefs of that illustrious assembly. In 1776, as president of the committee to which the task of presenting the Declaration of Independence to Congress had been entrusted, he was charged with drawing up the plan. His work having been adopted, with the exception of a few slight amendments, Jefferson may perhaps be regarded as the true author of one of the most precious Documents of Liberty in the Old and New Worlds. It is a political agreement which binds the two hemispheres to civilisation.

In his memoirs, Jefferson tells of the debates relating to this solemn act, and he calls God and men as witnesses of the truth of his narration, having been careful, so he says, to take note in his seat of all that passed in Congress on this occasion. This part of his memoirs is of great interest in the history of the independence and republican constitution of the United States, so misunderstood and calumniated in old Europe.

In the following years Jefferson confined his efforts for emancipation to the State of Virginia. A member of

the legislature and chief of the local government, he became the promoter of reform laws, notably those dealing with the right of primogeniture, religious liberty, and the education of the people. Jefferson was so well informed on matters of economy, politics, and legislation, that he outstripped and surpassed the greater part of his fellow-citizens. It was he who insisted on substituting the punishment of hard labour for that of death, and this reform has since been successively applied in the State of Pennsylvania, and afterwards in Virginia itself, where it has also obtained favourable results.

In 1782 he re-appeared on the political scene. Being appointed a plenipotentiary in 1785, he set out with Adams and Franklin to negotiate commercial treaties with European nations. Jefferson devoted five years to this mission, in the course of which he visited France, Holland, England and Italy successively. Everywhere he carefully observed men and things, and showed great intelligence in all that might affect the prosperity of the United States; but his negotiations failed in most European courts, which insisted on considering the republicans of America as rebels. During his stay in Europe, he witnessed our great Revolution, and that Revolution on the classic earth of hereditary despotism which appeared greater and more important in its influences than that of the United States, in which he had just taken so glorious a part. Moreover, he applied himself to writing about and carefully estimating party movements and the progress of events in France from 1789, without, however, omitting the preliminaries from 1787 to 1789, a period in which he was on intimate terms with most influential personages, notably, M. de La

Fayette and the Duc de La Rochefoucault-d'Anville. Jefferson views the aurora of liberty under the most favourable aspect, and calls it the first chapter of National Revolution.

He was not blind, however, to the almost inevitable consequences of this great political movement. He predicted "that a lively resistance would be manifested by the tyrants and absolutists of the north; but definitely that man's condition throughout the civilised world would be considerably ameliorated by it."

In 1789 Jefferson obtained permission to return to his country, and was forthwith appointed Secretary of State by President Washington. He left France at the same instant as the venerable Franklin departed this life. During the visit which Jefferson made to him, Franklin confided to his friend a manuscript containing an account of the negotiations conducted by himself with the British ministry, in order to prevent a rupture between the Colonies and the Mother Country. "I recollect," said Jefferson, "that in it he related that Lord North, after having received the overtures of the mediators very dryly, finally allowed himself to say, '*That, after all, open rebellion would not be viewed with disfavour on their part, because the confiscations to which it would give rise would be of use in providing for a great number of their friends.*'"

A new era in Jefferson's life commences here. The struggle commenced between the federalists and republicans in the United States, and each year it became more animated. (It is going on still in 1832). Jefferson's correspondence affords an animated picture of it. The acts and writings of this publicist, his known attach-

ment to France and her Revolution, and his pronounced dislike for England and her statesmen, enabled one to judge beforehand under which banner he would enlist. In fact, he joined the republican party in his country, upheld its cause, and was soon regarded as its leader. Alexander Hamilton, Secretary to the Treasury, and an enthusiastic partisan of the English constitution, was his constant opponent even in the cabinet. From that time there was an every-day struggle, and Jefferson's position became much changed, for until then there had been but one voice in the United States as to his public probity and political talents. Having become head of the party, he was a constant butt for the violent attacks of the opposite party, which vexed him so much, that in 1793 he determined to retire and seek a retreat at Monticello, where he lived for some time, wholly absorbed in agricultural occupations, an entire stranger to public affairs, and quite happy in abstaining from reading a newspaper sometimes for a whole month.

But the hour of repose had not yet struck for him; Washington having formally renounced the Presidency, parties were occupied in replacing him. The federalists looked to Adams to whom the republicans opposed Jefferson. The latter earnestly entreated not to be thrown into public affairs again; but in spite of himself he become a candidate for the supreme magistrature. The votes being equally divided, he wrote to Mr. Madison to decide it, so that Adams, who had always been his senior since the commencement of their career, might obtain the preference. This wish was satisfied. Adams was elected, and Jefferson, according to the conditions of the constitution, became

vice-president. His correspondence, during his four years' tenure of this office, shows that the good understanding which existed between himself and the president at the beginning, was very soon altered by the difference of their political views, and also by the ever-increasing animosity of the two parties of which each was the representative. At the time of the election for replacing Adams, Jefferson, who was opposed by Colonel Aaron Burr, obtained an equal number of votes. The House of Representatives was thus called upon, as in the preceding election, to decide between them on the presidency and vice-presidency. The result of the balloting, which lasted for several days, was in favour of Jefferson. Minds were very much agitated during this electoral contest; already the word *separation* was openly pronounced in some parts of this so recently-formed federation. Jefferson was for eight consecutive years President of the United States, and from this time his history is that of the republic itself.

Having succeeded to supreme power, he did not give up a single one of the principles that he had professed before attaining it. Chief of the government, he is always the friend of liberty; for in the United States things are not like in France, where apostasies are so easy and frequent among politicians. In America, a constancy of opinion and unchangeability of views prevails, from which their character as well as their probity may be inferred. It is true that Jefferson largely contributed in fixing the destinies of his country in an irrevocable manner.

At the end of his second presidency, in March, 1809, Jefferson definitely retired from public affairs. at the

age of *sixty-six years*. His last years were philosophically passed at his country residence. There he divided his time between private matters, studies which he had never given up, and an immense correspondence. (In 1820 he received 1,277 letters, the greater part of which required a well-considered reply.) But it is sad to see the end of a career which had been so useful to the country and so full of patriotism afflicted by material want and pecuniary embarrassments. These embarrassments became such that the ex-President of the United States was on the point of raffling his rural property, to enable his fellow-citizens to come to his assistance, when he died at the age of 83 years. His correspondence during his seventeen years' retirement deals with questions of public interest, morality, and politics, in which he shows both knowledge and intelligence. Some of his letters written to Adams, with whom he was reconciled, exhibit lively emotion and do honour to his excellent heart.

Jefferson was endowed with a judicious, circumspect, and persevering character. His judgments on France and its revolution, the beginning of which he had seen, show this great character in him, and are worthy of study.

A far-seeing and sagacious politician, Jefferson feared that our movement for national freedom could not come out victorious from a very prolonged struggle, of which he perceived symptoms in the obstinate resistance of the court and privileged classes. He advised M. de La Fayette, his friend, and other influential patriots to profit by a few advances of the court. He was not acquainted with the perfidy and artifices of power in France, and was mistaken as to

the character of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. de Montmorin, who was but an aristocrat and an intriguer. Jefferson also believed too much in the administrative talent and credit of the banker-minister Necker, when he went so far as to propose to his co-patriots an accommodation with the monarchy of Versailles. However, Jefferson was capable of studying France better than other foreign travellers. He did not content himself with a delusive sojourn in the great towns in order to judge the nation; he travelled in Burgundy and the southern provinces; he traversed villages, visited the cottages of the poor, ate their bread and asked their wants. Having acquired just ideas on this great and good people of France, he followed its movements and vicissitudes when he returned to America as he had done in Europe; and during the eight years of his presidency of the United States, he made unexampled efforts so as not to break the alliance with France.

Jefferson lost his fortune in public life and the establishment of national independence. When in retirement in New York, he was the object of the generous solicitude of his fellow-citizens. That is like a statesman of the New World; for in the Old European World, statesmen always begin by making their fortune, and with millions heaped up by intrigue and crime, they await the course of events. We shall not need to come to the aid of Talleyrand and Villèle, the ministers of Napoleon and the Bourbons.

On the 4th of May, at the Town-hall of New York, the citizens gathered together to consult on the means of helping the venerable Jefferson out of the embarrassing position in which he was situated. The

assembly was composed of the principal members of the state, and the most opulent citizens of that city, irrespective of opinion and party. The Mayor of New York, who was appointed chairman, addressed the following speech to his colleagues:

"Nothing is more honourable to the country than the eagerness with which every one has laid aside party animosities to come to the assistance of Jefferson. It is the sacred duty of a nation not to allow the last days of a long and honourable life to be troubled by pecuniary embarrassments. This duty is still more sacred when these embarrassments are not the result of culpable negligence or foolish extravagance, but of entire devotion to the administration of public affairs. Such indeed is the sole cause of Jefferson's distress, who devoted fifty years of his honourable and hard-working life to the service of the state. During this long time, and since, the house of this worthy citizen has been constantly open to those who came to visit him from all parts of the world. The hospitality of the inhabitants of Virginia has become proverbial, and among them no one has practised this virtue with more liberality than Mr. Jefferson. No citizen has a better right than he to national gratitude. *The author of the charter of our liberties*, he belonged to that first union of patriots who, even while they submitted to the yoke, sustained every reverse with unparalleled courage, conceived the plan of giving liberty to America, and bore the first blows to attain this great result. I have often regretted that Congress has not given an endowment for the old age of these old patriots, and that a pension has not been granted to those who retired from the presidency without any fortune; but

these regrets may be wiped out by the effects of public gratitude."

The meeting appointed a committee of twenty-four citizens, who were charged to receive subscriptions from the inhabitants of New York, to establish sub-committees in all the states of the Union, and to take all the necessary measures for assuring to the venerable author of the Declaration of American Independence an honourable and tranquil existence to the end of his career. These resolutions were adopted unanimously.

Do not go and carry such news to the capital of the civilisation and pleasures of Europe—its inhabitants would not believe it or would laugh at it. In Paris, statesmen who have not, by some means or other, procured an immense fortune are treated as simpletons.

Before quitting the presidency of the United States (at the end of the eighth year) Jefferson wrote to a friend that no prisoner ever shook off his fetters with a pleasure equal to that he experienced in seeing himself freed from the burden of public affairs, and free to go back to his farms and his books, wherein lay that peaceful existence for which he felt himself born. There, in fact, at Monticello, his last years were philosophically passed, until the age of eighty-three years. It was from this retreat, in which he passed seventeen years, that he addressed several letters to ex-President Adams. What a fine sight, these two old men, friends in childhood and companions in the great work of freeing their country, and still later become rivals and even enemies in the desperate struggles of parties, re-finding and renewing at the eve of life those bonds of sweet, active friendship which animated them half a century before! These

are the noble and beautiful features that a Plutarch would delight in reviving for posterity.

JOUSSOUF BEY.

This Arab chief receives unusual honours at Paris little in accordance with our manners. When the brilliant African cavalier enters a drawing-room, the ladies rise, eagerly surround him, and ask him to relate his romantic amours with the Princess Caboura while he was a slave at Tunis. He relates this adventure with a gallantry as flattering to the Tunisian to whom he has vowed eternal gratitude as to the ladies of Paris whom he affects by the recital of this beautiful princess's devotion.

But our civilisation has had great effect on this natural African. He was asked what most pleased him in France; and he replied, "the ladies and music." Moreover, our ideas concerning women seem strange to him, and he upholds the costumes of Arabia with an appropriateness remarkable in an outpost officer who has had scarcely any relations with the Bedouins.

"You accuse us," said he, "of buying women. We are, however, more civilised than you, because your women buy their husbands. When we marry we give a large sum of money, which proves that we attach a certain value to the lady of our choice. In France, on the contrary, the wife brings her dowry in exchange for the husband she receives. You prize yourselves then more than your wives? Yours is a peculiar civilisation!"

KLÉBER.

Bonaparte leaves Egypt, and pursues the career of political ambition in France. He leaves the command

of the army to General Kléber, who hastens to enable the soldiers to enjoy the useful institutions established by the General-in-Chief, and to improve the organisation of public liberty.

Meanwhile, the Grand Vizier causes a large army to advance on the frontiers of Egypt; they overcome the garrison of El-Arisch, which is far from all aid. The capitulation is violated as soon as signed; the Turks butcher the French soldiers without even sparing the officers of the medical department who were attending to the wounded. At this unexpected news Kléber set out to go and meet them.

Whilst General Desaix and M. Poussielque were negotiating peace with the Grand Vizier and English commissioners, news of the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire arrived, and they were inclined to evacuate Egypt on the Turkish vessels which were prepared at Alexandria and Aboukir to transport the army to France. General Keith opposed it with his squadron, only wishing to allow the army to pass as prisoners of war. The indignation of the French allowed of nothing but fighting, and Kléber accordingly made all arrangements for it.

On the 20th of November, 1799, the General put himself at the head of 13,000 men, who were eager to come up with the troops of the Grand Vizier, the Mamelukes, and the English. They camped near Heliopolis and the village of Matharich. After a few military movements and cannon-shots the Turks took flight, and the Mamelukes retreated towards Cairo; the battle took place on the ruins of ancient Heliopolis. The Turks only stopped in Syria, and left many dead behind them; but a great number of Egyptians were shut

up in the town of Cairo, which Kléber's army besieged. This conquest secured the possession of Egypt, with the exception of Saïd. A short time after the taking of Cairo, a Turkish fleet of twenty-six sail appeared before Alexandria; Kléber immediately went to Ruhmanieh, where he soon learnt that the fleet had retired. He came back to Cairo with his staff, after having formed a look-out camp at Ruhmanieh. Then a young fanatic, sent by the Grand Vizier, and perhaps armed by England, came to Cairo to assassinate the General-in-Chief. It was easy to find an opportunity. The first stroke of the poignard which this assassin aimed at Kléber traversed his breast obliquely, from the right hypochondrium to the right auricle of the heart, and pierced that organ to a great depth. The engineer Protin, having rushed to Kléber's assistance, was dangerously wounded by the fanatic. The assassin was named Khaléby; he was arrested and condemned to death. General Menou, who succeeded Kléber, announced this sad news in a proclamation to the army, who rendered funeral honours to Kléber amid universal mourning.

I think I can still hear the noise of the funeral car which carried the mortal remains of the victor of Heliopolis through his native country, and the acclamations which rose from all sides to salute the patriot warrior; I can still see the old soldiers, who had become citizens again, leaving the plough to honour their former general! Kléber's spirit ought to be happy at finding itself among Frenchmen, and on a soil which has not been sullied by the presence of barbarians; he can sleep there in peace without fearing that the Cossack, the Muscovite, the Prussian and the Austrian will come and trample on his grave.

KOSCIUSZKO.

He is the hero of modern Poland. In 1793, after having uselessly devoted his sword to claiming liberty in his native land, he was still occupied in America with the amelioration of an exiled race. A fine monument has been raised to his glory on the banks of the Ohio by a Pole: it is an establishment for the education and civilisation of African slaves.

When Kosciuszko left the United States for the last time, this generous man confided to Jefferson a deed by which he bequeathed a sum of 13,000 dollars (65,000 francs) for freeing the blacks and making them, by education, worthy of liberty. He desired that, in the establishment he wished to create, the unfortunate, rescued from the brutishness of slavery, might become better fathers, mothers, sons and daughters.

Various obstacles impeded the execution of this fine project; it was realised at last in 1826. Kosciuszko School is now situated in New York, and the children of men brought up in the regions of the Niger to bear chains in another country, there find liberty and enlightenment. This blessing they owe to the philanthropy of a hero who was exiled from his own country, and the name which honours this establishment, the place where it stands, as well as the object which it has to fulfil, will attest how love of liberty can lessen distances and unite the destinies of men who seem for ever to be strangers to one another.

LA CHALOTAIS.

As the virtuous La Chalotais in his prison heard the carpenter preparing his scaffold, he exclaimed: "The poor fellow doubts not that he is knocking for

eternity; the blows of his mallet are not insupportable to me, they are still less pleasing to the ears of the good Jesuit fathers, and it is better music for them than that of the ocular harpsichord of their father Castel." On the following day, in speaking of this execrable brotherhood of Loyola's, M. de la Chalotais added: "They will be hunted down, exiled, and scattered into the four quarters of the globe, in spite of the support of Clement XIII. In all human probability in fifty years' time they will be such as I shall be in a few hours' time, *pulvis et umbra*. Ah! well, remember their remains will still move, and perhaps come to life again, for we do not know the whole living strength of this institution. *It is a chopped-up serpent.*" This prediction of M. de la Chalotais was realised in France under the two reigns of the Restoration.

LA FAYETTE.

La Fayette's recollections went back as far as the time of his presentation at the court of Versailles. He saw Louis XV. at table between Madame Dubarry and an archbishop, between his mistress and confessor, the habitual companions of the life of the Bourbons. This picture of legitimate royalty and divine right, seated between brazen vice and complaisant religion, was not of a nature to make him think very highly of the throne and altar. A first impression of this nature on the youth of La Fayette (he was then only fourteen) cannot have been without influence on the ideas and determination of his whole life.

A crowd of glorious recollections are associated with his name; he will live for ever in the memory of the friends of liberty.

His military life in America is pure and stainless. He is a youthful glory wholly devoted to the liberty of a great country and nation.

La Fayette, the conqueror of an English division, sees the conquered general offer his sword to him. La Fayette, modest and just, refused the sword of the English general, pointing to the American leader, George Washington. That was a noble action which the arts ought to note and reproduce!

La Fayette derived from this War of Independence that profound feeling of liberty which he afterwards developed for the interest and honour of France in the Assembly of Notables of 1788, and more particularly still in the States-General before the Constituent Assembly.

His undisputed glory lies in having fought on the banks of the Brandywine for the liberty and independence of the Americans of the North against English tyranny.

The French Revolution afterwards counted him at the head of its defenders. He was praised and decried in turn by the various parties. He was the leader of the National Guard, and as such, the object of a kind of civic worship and most bitter calumny. His life answered his enemies, and his banishments dishonoured the tyrants of Europe.

La Fayette had admired General Bonaparte, but he refused to esteem Napoleon. Under the Restoration he re-appeared on the political scene as a deputy. This veteran of liberty has been faithful to it, whilst so many others betrayed or sold it. He was an energetic speaker, full of skill and constant to his principles, an exceedingly rare thing in France.

He pleaded with all the force of experience and reason in favour of the opinions for which he had fought at the side of Washington in America and Mirabeau in France.

The cardinal minister, the Archbishop of Sens, said in 1788, in the King's Council, that M. de La Fayette was the most dangerous of all the opponents of the ministry, because his logic lay in actions.

Lameth and Barnave were, in the years 1789 and 1790, the strongest enemies of La Fayette. He was reconciled with them after the 21st of June, 1791, and that caused him to be accused of a design for augmenting royal power in the constitutional revision, and wishing to preserve the throne for the twice-perjured Louis XVI.

In the month of June, 1792, La Fayette was regarded in Paris as an obstacle to the progress of liberty and the defence of the country, and as a systematic upholder of perjured and conspiring royalty. Liberty, attacked within and without, did not pardon one of her worthiest founders for disowning and shackling her when she was thrown into a dangerous path.

When he went to command the army of the Ardennes, after his discomfiture at the bar of the Legislative Assembly, where he had come to denounce the Jacobin Society, La Fayette, who was wanting in political tact, thought that France had decidedly entered upon the constitutional *régime*. That fixed idea deceived him. He did not see that the Revolution continued to progress; he did not understand the accelerated movement which the threats of foreign nations and the treasons of the court gave to revolutionary liberty,

which no human power could modify or suspend, even on the eve of the 10th of August, still less stop.

La Fayette was only saved from his errors and the effect of public opinion by the memory which the nation retained of his devotion to the national cause. He risked appearing in face of an irritated people with a king unfaithful to his oaths. Even after the 10th of August La Fayette persisted in wishing to save the perfidious Louis XVI., who was then detained at the Temple. He uselessly harangued his army of the Ardennes, which only wished to take the oath of allegiance to liberty and the nation. He was forced to give up his command, and to abandon a desperate cause which he ought never to have taken up.

In 1792, M. de La Fayette, having invited the King to surrender in the midst of his army, to which the general held himself responsible for his safety (a means of salvation which was rejected by the indecision of Louis XVI., and above all by the Queen's prejudices), and being threatened with arraignment, understanding that the arrival of the commissioners of the Legislative Assembly, which had just dismissed him, rendered the execution of this threat imminent, resolved to escape by fleeing to a neutral country. He did not pass over to the enemy like Dumouriez; but he was betrayed, and experienced terrible treatment at the hands of the Austrians. He sustained a long captivity in the fortress of Olmutz courageously, and remained faithful to France and liberty, as well as to the noble doctrines of the Revolution. Neither the most seductive offers, moral and physical torture, nor the exasperations of his accusers and calumniators could make him turn from his enlightened moderation and tranquil inflexibility of character.

The story of La Fayette's captivity at Olmutz will prejudice all generations against his Austrian gaolers.

Madame de La Fayette, no less intrepid than Mademoiselle de Sombreuil, Elizabeth Cazotte, and Madame Lavalette, preferred to expose herself to almost certain death rather than be free without her husband. This heroic example is a fresh proof that women are not strangers to any kind of courage, and that with them slight caprices are always redeemed by sublime virtues.

There are two La Fayettes.

The La Fayette of 1789 was the idol of Frenchmen, although a free people ought not to be idolatrous, or balance a man and their country; he of 1792 was proscribed by public opinion and considered a traitor to the country. In 1789 his name was a talisman for the National Guard; in 1792 it was a curse for the army of the Ardennes. Public gratitude raised him to the first rank, and political prejudices brought him down to the lowest. The prisons of Olmutz confined another La Fayette than that of the camp at Sedan. La Fayette of the Austrian gaol wanted nothing from the ministers of foreign tyranny; but La Fayette of the legislative bar made unworthy proposals against the friends of liberty. His conduct when in irons was heroic; his conduct at the head of the army was anti-national.

"M. de La Fayette," says Roederer, "learned of the catastrophe of the 10th of August at Sedan. Commissioners from the new executive power came to inform the army of it, and make sure of its acquiescence. M. de La Fayette refused to recognise them. The municipality and general council of the department of the Ardennes declared that they only regarded

these commissioners as the agents of a criminal faction. They were arrested and imprisoned. M. de La Fayette assembled the army and made it take a new oath of allegiance to the constitution of 1791. His intention manifestly was to march his troops on Paris, not with the view of helping the emigrants and Prussians, nor to disengage the King from the Constitution he had sworn to uphold, but, on the contrary, to bind him to it more surely, by delivering him from an ignominious prison, and proving to him by such a mark of fidelity what a constitutional monarch might expect from the friends of the Constitution. Fate decided otherwise. The soldiers believed in the treason of the court. To march to the aid of the King against the constituted authorities at Paris and the partisans of the Revolution was, said they, to turn their backs on the foreigners that were encamped on the frontier, and take the same direction as they. It was like making themselves the vanguard of the opposing armies, and occupying themselves in the ruin of liberty and equality, of that equality so new to the army and so dear to the hopes of glory and fortune which it had engendered. Such was, in its eyes, the conduct which was mapped out for it. A decree was announced to the troops which accused La Fayette; they misunderstood their general. Another decree for the arrest of La Fayette was announced to them, and they declared that they owed obedience to all decrees and fidelity to the nation." M. de La Fayette was obliged to flee with his friend M. Latour Maubourg. Pursued by the popular outcry, the indignation of the army, and the formidable hatred of the friends of the court, they sought safety abroad, where they got

dungeons for an asylum, gaolers as protectors, and, with the refinement of Teutonic kindness, they were separated in prison. Like the army of the Ardennes, all the armies and constituted authorities sent in their allegiance to the decree of the 10th of August. They gave fresh proofs of it after the 21st of January, 1793. If the 10th of August had not put an end to the royal power of Louis XVI., the Prussians and Austrians would have had but little difficulty in coming to Paris to make laws there, and re-establish the old *régime*. They would have raised taxes and war contributions in France, banished all the patriots, and devastated our provinces.

Since the time of the ancients, no man has received so much gratitude as General de La Fayette. Without mentioning France, his native country, which could pay a just tribute of esteem to his noble qualities, and the United States of America, his second country, to the emancipation of which he so powerfully contributed, we receive eulogia of him every moment in the newspapers of America. The *Estrella Brasileira* of the 14th of April, 1824, says concerning him:

"Men who are well acquainted with the events, which so conspicuously marked the second half of the eighteenth century, cannot ignore the important services which La Fayette rendered to our predecessors in the causes of liberty and independence, and to North Americans in their long and painful struggle with Great Britain. It now appears that the venerable general has manifested a desire to revisit once more the scene of his former exploits, the free land sprinkled with his blood."

As soon as this desire was known in the United

States, the American Congress ordered that the executive power should have a national frigate got ready to go to France to receive the illustrious general and his suite on board, and to take him back to France, when he should desire to return to his country. (General de La Fayette refused this honour, and chose the packet *Cadmus*.)

This decision of Congress is highly honourable to the illustrious general, and no less so to the American Government.

The two worlds have read the admirable ode, that was written by the most popular of French poets of the nineteenth century, on this voyage which La Fayette took to the United States in his old age. Americans have translated into their language what Béranger published as a song in France. It is a national ballad which for citizens of the United States has the double merit of consecrating an historic tradition and of being the expression of the regard they feel for the friend of Washington:

"Ce vieil ami que tant d'ivresse accueille,
Par un héros ce héros adopté
Bénit jadis, à sa première feuille,
L'arbre naissant de notre liberté!

Mais aujourd'hui que l'arbre et son feuillage
Bravent en paix la foudre et les hivers,
Il vient s'asseoir sous son fertile ombrage,
Jours de triomphe, éclairez l'univers!"

La Fayette's voyage to America revived the times of antiquity. Moreover, Béranger's poem is sublime in thought and expression; it is the whole history of a great citizen and the finest of the public characters of the period.

South Carolina was the province of the Union in

which La Fayette and Bolivar landed on coming from Europe to defend the liberties of the two Americas. La Fayette and Bolivar landed at Charlestown. La Fayette, who was of French origin, arrived in America by passing through Spain, and Bolivar, who was of Spanish birth, came through France to get to American territory. Each of them largely contributed to the establishment of independence in the New World, one in the north and the other in the south. At the same moment that General de La Fayette received the homage of public recognition for his services to independence in North America, Bolivar saw the generous efforts which he had made in the cause of liberty in South America crowned with most glorious success.

When General de La Fayette, visiting the United States of America in 1825, came to the Indian Territory, one of the savage chiefs headed a deputation to be introduced to the French general and talk with him. His speech was fairly long, and was translated by an interpreter. It commenced with much praise of the virtue and courage which the general had formerly shown against the English; the most brilliant episodes of this war were recalled and related in very poetical language. In conclusion, the chief said: "Brother, it has long been said among us that you would come back and visit our forests and dwellings, thou whom the Great Spirit formerly sent from the other side of the great lake to chase away the enemies of man, the English with their coats stained with blood. The youngest among us will tell their little ones that they have touched your hand and seen your face. They will, perhaps, see you again, because you are the favoured one of the Great Spirit, and will never grow old."

The general replied to the adieux of the Indians with the aid of the interpreter; he gave them wise and temperate counsel, recommending them always to live as good neighbours with the Americans, and to regard them as their friends and brothers. He told them that he would think of them always, and would pray for their welfare. Then the general and his company turned towards the torrent which bounds the state of Alabama.

He sent a ton of the soil of Bunker's Hill from America to cover his coffin after his death. It is well known that Bunker's Hill is a place celebrated for a victory of the Americans over the English, in which M. de La Fayette took part.

La Fayette played a great part in the opposition when Louis XVIII. and Charles X. insolently oppressed France. Moreover, the minister of that time tried to implicate him in some conspiracies, either that of General Berton at Saumur, or that of the four non-commissioned officers of La Rochelle. They deliberated several times in council whether they should arrest General de La Fayette. They did not dare. The reason of this unusual caution was only known after the revolution of July, 1830, through the revelation of M. de La Fayette himself.

In the month of October, 1830, a few friends were gathered together at his house, and, speaking of events which took place under the Restoration, one of them expressed his astonishment that the Bourbons had not had him arrested at the time of the conspiracy of the four non-commissioned officers, in which it was said that he was implicated.

"They did not dare," replied M. de La Fayette,

"though they would very much have liked to, because they knew that I had decided to expose the deeds and documents known to me concerning the conspiracy of the Marquis of Favras, hatched, conducted and paid for by *Monsieur*, the king's brother, who had himself become King Louis XVIII. I wanted to tear down the veil which has too long covered this crime of high treason against the nation. Louis XVIII. knew it, and opposed my arrest."

This conversation was related to me by M. David, the celebrated sculptor of the Institute, and one of the patriots of July, who happened to be in M. de La Fayette's drawing-room when he narrated this circumstance. It is to be hoped that M. de La Fayette has set forth these facts of the Favras conspiracy in his memoirs, for they should have been well known to him, since, in 1790, he was Commandant of the National Guard, and closely connected with the Duchess of Simiane, the Queen's friend and confidant, who was made acquainted day by day with the conduct of *Monsieur*, her deadliest enemy.

M. de La Fayette may have made faults in politics, committed errors in revolution, and have had unjust distrust of certain forms of government, the rights of which he had defended in his youth; but it is always right to treat with well-earned respect a reputation of half a century, which is venerable and dear to the friends of liberty. Some legitimist writers of the Restoration have adopted a satirical and disdainful style respecting M. de La Fayette, which is out of place when speaking of so lofty an intelligence and so pure a conscience.

La Fayette has, nevertheless, more right than any-

body to give out personal ideas on national politics and public liberties, because his ideas are always broad, his sentiments always generous, and his opinions always sincere; he said in 1789 *that insurrection is the holiest of duties.* He first presented a plan of *Declaration of Rights* to the Constituent Assembly. During the restoration of the Bourbons, he lent his voice and his vote to the holy cause of liberty and national independence; this venerated organ has never failed in the support and defence of civil and political liberties, and it was never lent to any exceptional measure. He speaks with eloquent simplicity, but without those oratorical precautions which certain deputies have carried from the tumult of the bar to the energy of the tribune.

M. de La Fayette always appeared with head erect and his brow uncovered to fight in favour of liberty of thought, speech, and writing; the one essential liberty, mother of all others, and the only true security of all rights and interests.

At the time of the popular revolution of 1830, La Fayette showed himself a great citizen amid public danger and the heat of civil war. Never was he so deserving of his country. The youth and the victorious people offered him the provisional presidency of France, to advise on the means of saving and preserving its liberties and conquests. Unfortunately, he hesitated, and asked for a few hours to reflect on this proposition, which gave the intriguers time to go and warn the Duke of Orleans at Neuilly; and Talleyrand advised the Duke to immediately accept the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, so as to avoid the Republic which all were asking for. Two days after there was no more question of establishing a presidency. On the 9th

of August the Lieutenant-General became King through the choice of a few deputies, and it was La Fayette who, in congratulating and embracing him on the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville, presented him to the people assembled on the "Place de Grève," and said to them, *Behold the best of republics!* La Fayette was not slow in reaping the fruits of his error; he was avoided by those in power, and obliged to tender his resignation as Commandant of the National Guard.

Mr. Morris, the plenipotentiary of the United States, said to M. de La Fayette in 1789:

"M. de La Fayette, you haven't sense enough to be at the head of the French Revolution."

He is the dupe of all political intriguers, who put him in front for the fight and send him away after the event. The "doctrinaires" at first made use of his name as a national standard, and afterwards disliked and calumniated him. His political ideas being but slightly energetic, and his character too feeble, he could not offer sufficient resistance to those ambitious hypocrisies and profligacies of the courtiers who stole power and abused the nation.

Fouché, in concert with Metternich and Wellington, impelled La Fayette to a personal and public attack on Napoleon in 1815 as soon as the disaster of Waterloo was known. Fouché cajoled him with the presidency of a provisional council when they wanted to force Napoleon to abdicate the Empire a second time. La Fayette was incensed, in the sitting of the secret committee, against the misfortune of a great man, who was necessary to the military defence of France. After Napoleon's abdication, Fouché found La Fayette fit for nothing better than a barren, ludi-

crous commission which was sent to the Allies to treat of peace on the frontier.

As a general, La Fayette assisted in the triumph of American liberty.

As a deputy, he upheld the principles of French representative government.

As a member of the opposition, he was firm, constant, the enlightened friend of national principles and rights.

La Fayette was too credulous and easy to deceive and so allow the fruits of the popular insurrection to escape.

Summing up 56 years of constitutional life, La Fayette is a republican in the United States and a monarchist in France.

In 1833 he said, in intimate conversation, that he had made two attempts in his lifetime which had not succeeded. They consisted, according to him, of *making liberty, in* 1789, *with monarchy, and making, in* 1830, *monarchy with liberty!*

In France he always showed himself opposed to the principles and forms of republican government.

When, in the month of July, 1791, the people of Paris demanded the deposition of King Louis XVI., after his desertion of the throne and perfidious flight of the 21st of June preceding, the people were accused of wishing to establish a republic. It was the pretext made use of by La Fayette, Commandant of the National Guard, to go to the Champs-de-Mars with an armed force and fire on the citizens who had assembled to sign a petition on the altar of "La Patrie" for the overthrow of the king.

During the captivity of La Fayette at Olmutz,

M. de Narbonne was sent in November, 1793, to the King of Prussia with a memorial, in the handwriting of M. de Lally Tollendal, enumerating the services constantly rendered by M. de La Fayette to Louis XVI. under the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies. From the facts enumerated in this memoir, we see that La Fayette was not only opposed to the constitution of 1791, but even to the Legislative Assembly, and that he was favourable to the changes planned by Louis XVI. and his treacherous counsellors.

After his return to France, which the victorious General Bonaparte demanded at the time of the treaty of Udine and Campo Formio, La Fayette, who had kept apart from the Consulate and the Empire, only reappeared, in 1815, in the Chamber of Representatives to rise against Napoleon after his defeat at Waterloo.

He was afterwards sent by the Assembly and Provisional Council to ask Alexander and the Allies for another king than Louis XVIII. He ceaselessly stipulated for monarchy, beyond which he could see nothing possible or admissible.

He said at the tribune, in the sitting of the 6th of April, 1833:

"I, a republican, by innate sentiments and the habit of youth, have defended liberty against the pretended republic which would violate it. And indeed, having defended this liberty against the republic, I will not come to defend monarchy against liberty! . . . Having blamed the '*lettres de cachet*,' whether applied to a Neapolitan princess or to my best friends, and, in the time of the Consulate, when they were directed against certain terrorists—my most implacable enemies

—by a *senatus consultum*, it will always be liberty that I shall defend."

It is not to be wondered at, that M. de La Fayette, who was absent from France during the National Convention, has spoken of this Assembly in an unjust and unfavourable manner. He said, on the 16th of May, 1831, over the grave of the respectable deputy, Labbey de Pompières, "He had to suffer terrorist persecutions, although he devoutly embraced the revolution of 1789, but he *never committed the blasphemy of confounding anarchy and crime with liberty, which is paramount justice, or supposed that violence was necessary to maintain the national enthusiasm which, since the first dangers, has made Frenchmen run to the defence of their country.*" This way of considering and judging the National Convention is a summary of the calumnies published by the royalists and emigrants against the republic.

The death of La ayette was the occasion of a military parade, and not of a funeral procession. There was a body but no funeral; the public functionaries of the time grieved under orders, and power conducted the mourning.

La Fayette was there, but as in the prisons of Olmutz! The French army kept him imprisoned in a bier as the Austrian army had kept him shut up in a state prison.

La Fayette was there, without life but not without glory! The hearse went along unperceived in the middle of a square battalion, whose bayonets, still stained with French blood, prevented the people from seeing their liberator.

The funeral procession of the author of the Declaration of Rights was the subject of the strictest

military discipline and that funeral strategy which had been invented by the general officers of the period. These menacing precautions and insulting display of force transformed the capital into a besieged city in the midst of a public calamity.

The cemetery which awaited the remains of the illustrious defender of liberty was put into a state of siege. No one except the dead person and his family could approach the burial-ground. Public gratitude saw more artillery arrayed against its natural demonstrations than would be brought against foreign invasion.

It is said that the government regarded the mortal remains of the old friend of liberty as a prey which should not escape it. Not a single minister showed himself in this official funeral procession, and the government only intervened to prevent the expressions of public grief.

LALLY TOLLENDAL.

He was the most servile of the royalists and the most emphatic and bombastic of orators. Mirabeau said of Lally Tollendal that he *felt where he ought to think*. In fact, his sentimental policy only tended to paralyse the energy of the patriot deputies, and to bend the nation under the dominion of those Bourbons who had gagged and beheaded his father.

In his speech in the Chamber of Peers on the 6th of April, 1826, M. de Lally spoke of the year 1790 as a time of ungovernable demagogues, and of Mirabeau as a monstrous genius who produced the fantastic scandal of destroying primogeniture by voting for the equality of sons' shares, and by attacking the sanctity of

wills. The noble peer, however, was one of the illustrious Constituent Assembly, and he then affected to share the opinions of the majority. This then was a sort of apology which M. de Lally wished to make in 1826 for his errors in 1789 and 1790.

Two remarkable acts of Lally Tollendal's remain. First, his letter to Louis XVI., written at Paris on Monday, the 9th of July, 1792, proposing to the king, on behalf of M. de La Fayette, a project of armed anti-revolutionism, with a plan of new articles called constitutional, but which were nothing else than undisguisedly organised despotism and aristocracy. It is in this letter that he strongly opposes the sanction given to the "decree of feudal rights, which he said was equivalent to highway robbery." And secondly, M. de Lally Tollendal's letter written in the form of a memorial to the King of Prussia, asking for de La Fayette's liberty when he was imprisoned by the Allies. In it the author enumerates the services that had been rendered to royalty by La Fayette during the course of the first Revolution from 1789 to 1792, tending to establish that he was a republican only so far as concerned the memory of his struggle for American Independence, and even that he approved of the changes in the constitution of 1791 projected by Louis XVI. and his treacherous counsellors. This memorial, written entirely in M. de Lally Tollendal's handwriting, was sent through M. de Narbonne to the King of Prussia on the 8th of October, 1793.

M. de Lally Tollendal was brought up an orphan; he only knew his father at the moment he saw him mount the scaffold. His conduct then did honour to his character; but as a politician he joined the

Bourbon party who had taken his father from him, and upheld with all his might the deplorable ministry which oppressed France for six years.

General de Lally Tollendal, governor of Pondicherry, was persecuted by the intrigues of the cabinet of St. James', who aimed at obtaining the French establishments in India. Being condemned to death by the parliament at Paris under the reign of Louis XV., he was conducted to the Place de Grève on a cart, with a gag in his mouth, a horrible sight which roused the indignation of all Paris, and excited the unanimous condemnation both of France and Europe.

A councillor of the parliament, named Pasquier, was charged to preside at the execution of the arrest and apply the gag.

On the accession of Louis XVI., the natural son of M. de Lally solicited the monarch to rehabilitate his father's memory; he pleaded his cause in parliament with an eloquence worthy of the situation, and obtained a complete triumph. Such is the progress of events; under Louis XVIII. Lally's son sat in the same Chamber of Peers beside the son of that Pasquier who had gagged General de Lally.

GENERAL LAMARQUE.

As a warrior, he was bold and humane. His knowledge of the military art was profound and positive; he could calm the furies of civil war in La Vendée more by words than by the sword. He reconciled wandering minds and embittered hearts by substituting persuasion for the employment of arms.

As a deputy, he possessed constancy of principles,

unchanging patriotism, and civil courage proof against everything. At the tribune he defended the rights of the army and the liberties of the people with the same skill. He thought that France might occupy a more exalted place in European politics; but at the same time he upheld the dignity of the nation in its external relations, he always struggled against the system of the military occupation of France by her own army, and the exaggeration of the monarchical principle. He was worthy of being a member of a national opposition, and he had to assist in the powerless acts of an opposition without plans, aims, or political bonds, which was obliged to see the heroic nationality of Poland disappear under the lances of the Cossacks of the Don and the tyrants of the Neva.

As a society man he was the ornament of a drawing-room on account of his wit and varied knowledge; his conversation was animated and at times caustic; he could stigmatise vices, ridicule the ambitious, and expose hypocrites equally well. That famous definition of the Restoration—"a halt in the mire"—is attributed to him.

This cutting shaft well depicts the whole of this period of baseness and treason; it also reveals the hopes of the patriot.

Banished in 1815, Lamarque, like his colleagues in exile, had his share of diplomatic tribulation; but he had constancy under his own misfortunes, and sympathy to soften those of others. He had a right heart, strong mind, and civil and military devotion sustained by the consciousness of his ability.

In the last days of his national mandate, which were

also the last of his life, he had to struggle against the absolutist power and brutal eloquence of a rich banker, who thought himself a statesman because he happened to be president of the council.

Casimir Perier, who had the monopoly of coal and refineries, had also got possession of the monopoly of disturbances and public order. General Lamarque did not cease to oppose him at the tribune as much by the depth of his reflections as by sallies of satirical wit. But then all attempts were blunted against this factitious rock of public order.

Lamarque united to courage and firmness that cunning and address which characterise the southerners. He liked the sound of applause, and he often deserved it. His stay in Belgium, where politics were organising a new kingdom, contributed to develope the spirit of reflection and study with which nature had endowed him, and which he could not cultivate in bivouacs. The events of July gave him frequent occasions for exhibiting a brilliant patriotic eloquence; but the sword-point of the man of war was always seen gleaming through political debates, especially when he spoke of Belgium and the natural and necessary limits of France on the Rhine.

In antiquity, the death of this warrior citizen would have been celebrated by funeral fires worthy of such a reputation. But among modern nations, the barbarous imitators of the ancient, it was the tocsin of civil war which announced the funeral of the generous victor of La Vendée.

The death of General Lamarque was a day of mourning throughout France; alarmed despotism changed these public regrets into a day of murder.

An ardent, generous youth and sincere patriots came to weep over his coffin; they found death there.

Public gratitude is not so tardy in the provinces as in the capital; the inhabitants of Les Landes honoured the remains of Lamarque in a nobler and more lasting way than the inhabitants of Paris.

At St. Sever, the general's native place, a monument was consecrated to the memory of one of the most illustrious citizens who honoured France. The inauguration of this monument took place on the 27th of June, 1836, in the presence of a vast multitude.

Lamarque succumbed, like Benjamin Constant, to the fatigues of the tribune.

Thus have the most eloquent and courageous political orators disappeared, abandoning the field to the petty ambitious and numerous mediocrities who have taken possession of all the avenues and offices of power.

LAMARTINE.

People are much concerned in Italy with the duel of M. Lamartine, our secretary to the embassy at Florence; a magnificent tirade against Italy in the last canto of "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage" was the cause of this duel.

The following are a few lines of this tirade which the poet puts into the mouth of Harold, a traveller satiated with the pleasures of life:

Italie! Italie! adieu, bords que j'aimais!
Mes yeux désenchantés te perdent pour jamais!
O terre du passé, que faire en tes collines?
Quand on a mesuré tes arcs et tes ruines,
Et fouillé quelques noms dans l'urne de la mort
Ou se retourne en vain vers les vivants: tout dort;

Tout, jusqu'aux souvenirs de ton antique histoire,
Qui te feraient du moins rougir devant ta gloire!
Tout dort, et cependant l'univers est debout!
Par le siècle emporté toute marche ailleurs, partout!
Le Scythe et le Breton, de leurs climats sauvages,
Par le bruit de ton nom guidés vers tes rivages,
Jetant sur tes cités un regard de mépris,
Ne t'apercoivent plus dans tes propres débris!
Et, mesurant de l'œil tes arches colossales,
Tes temples, tes palais, tes portes triomphales,
Avec un rire amer demandent vainement
Pour qui l'immensité d'un pareil monument?
Si l'on attend qu'ici quelque autre César passe?

* * * * * * *

Monument écroulé, que l'echo seul habite!
Poussière du passé, qu'un vent stérile agite,
Terre où tes fils n'ont plus le sang de leurs aïeux!
Où sur un sol vieilli les hommes naissent vieux!
Où le fer avili ne frappe que dans l'ombre;
Où sur les fronts voilés plane un nuage sombre;
Où l'amour n'est qu'un piége, et la pudeur qu'un fard;
Où la ruse a faussé le rayon du regard;
Où les morts enervés ne sont qu'un bruit sonore,
Un nuage éclaté qui retentit encore!
Adieu! pleure ta chute en vantant tes héros!
Sur des bords où ta gloire a ranimé leurs os!
Je vais chercher ailleurs (pardonne, ombre romaine!)
Des hommes, et non pas de la poussière humaine.

These lines, which abound in strong, deep thoughts, present a picture of Italy, perhaps only too true, but composed by an over-strained, melancholy imagination. They were circulated in every drawing-room, and national pride, humiliated by these cruel truths, showed itself in universal complaints. M. de Lamartine said that they were wrong in taking for his personal opinion what was only an imprecation placed in the mouth of his hero. Some replies were prohibited by the police because they contained insults to France, and because in a country where the most

absolute censorship exists, the press is in a way under the responsibility of government. Finally, a pamphlet appeared on a line of Dante's, in which there was a phrase personally insulting to M. de Lamartine. The latter, though recently injured by a kick from a horse, which prevented his standing upright, had himself carried to the house of the author of the writing, a Neapolitan refugee and a relation of General Pépé, and asked for satisfaction. The other at first refused to fight, alleging in excuse M. de Lamartine's condition. Moreover, his position was perilous; the laws of Tuscany severely punished all duels in its territory, and he was forced to leave the only asylum open to refugees in Italy; and, finally, M. de Lamartine was too ill to go to a rendezvous beyond the frontier.

M. de Lamartine got over these difficulties by consenting to fight with swords, lest the noise of pistols should waken the suspicions of the sbirri, and promising his adversary to employ all his influence so that they might not be disturbed. The young secretary to the embassy made his plan known to his chief, and told him that his verses having been the cause of the duel, he would be content to defend himself, in spite of the enormous disadvantage he was under on account of his bad foot.

M. de Lamartine, in fact, behaved with the utmost generosity, and, as he had announced, parried his adversary's blows without ever attacking him. In the end he received a wound in the right arm; and the seconds, charmed with the nobleness of his action, stopped the fight. They could find no limit to their praise of the poet, and his adversary even joined in it. The French ambassador asked the Tuscan ministers

that this affair might not be attended with any other consequences; it was granted, and this arrangement satisfied all. On the following day M. de Lamartine issued a note in which he showed that his verses on Italy were not the expression of his own opinion; he proved it by examples of similar cases and reasonings which appear good. This reply, coming as it did after a duel so gallantly fought, ended by making the Italians as favourably inclined towards the author as they were formerly disfavourable.

In 1831 M. de Lamartine published a pamphlet entitled "National Politics." In it are set forth general considerations connected with Christianity, which he supposes to have been the principle of the reform of 1789; he insists, like M. Louis de Carné, on the primary influence of dogma and religious principle. The views of these two writers are exactly in agreement on this point; they turn a political and social problem into a moral and religious one. A few earnest, exalted and mysterious spirits adopt this system, which does not take sufficient account of human interests, and gives rise to indifference in politics and contemplative quietism instead of national feeling.

As a result of these dispositions, M. de Lamartine opposed the ministry of the first of March, perhaps the only one that was capable of preparing the defence of outraged France, and demanded its dismissal as a necessary satisfaction to the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin.

France then wanted to gather her forces together above all things; it was not a time for separating them, especially when they despaired of peace like M. de Lamartine. In the eyes of all enlightened men

his system was, on the contrary, likely to accelerate general war.

However, a lively anecdote is told of M. Lamartine's struggle on the 1st of March.

The following conversation took place, it is said, between him and M. Thiers on the subject of the funeral honours to be rendered to Napoleon at Les Invalides: "Why," said the President of the Council, "do you speak against this plan?" "Because I want no imitators of Napoleon," replied M. de Lamartine. "Oh! be easy," replied M. Thiers, ironically, "you have nothing to fear on that score." "You do not understand my meaning," retorted the poet; "and if you want me to express it crudely, we do not want any parodists of him."

At the national tribune M. de Lamartine often displayed generous feeling, but he was also often too full of the spirit of the conservative party with its feebleness, impotence, and blind hatreds. Moreover, he allowed himself to be led away, as for example on the Eastern Question, by fantastic plans of conquest and division, which his rich imagination knew how to clothe in an almost seductive form.

Nevertheless, it is not only as a poet that M. de Lamartine has a right to public admiration. As a deputy he always stipulated for peace and the interests of humanity.

He brought to the tribune the result of his observations on the Arab races, and the manners and beliefs of eastern nations. These philosophical notions were of little use to a Chamber of Deputies that cared little for such subjects.

But perhaps M. de Lamartine also scorned or but

partially understood practical men or common routine-following minds. The deputy-poet was too much inclined by previous conduct as well as by the nature of his mind to theory and speculation to captivate the attention of practicians who examine political questions much more under their positive and material than their moral and philosophical aspect.

M. de Lamartine could not have much influence in the Chamber of Deputies; he starts off on points too remote from the present, and his imagination hurries him too much towards the future.

LAMENNAIS.

Like Chateaubriand, he was a prose poet, a Catholic, and a champion of the dogma of authority; like him, he preached moral independence and political democracy. Lamennais, as well as Chateaubriand, proceeded from the heights of religious and monarchical thought to the profound abysses in which we meet with the deliverance of nations, and the rights of equality and liberty belonging to the popular masses.

Moreover, these two politico-religious writers have had a descent in their career, or ascent if you prefer it, from monarchy to democracy. Both of them are endowed by nature with a powerful imagination rather than the strong will of the statesman.

The "Paroles d'un Croyant" have beguiled minds and converted nations. These lively, eloquent pages are impregnated with religion and liberty. The man who believes is strong. Such is the democratic priest Lamennais. Fed on the spirit of the Gospel, he rises against all forms of slavery, and, in the words of

the great legislator of the Christians, calls all people to liberty and equality.

In May, 1835, Lamennais came to Paris to give in person the consecration of a great act of courage, justice and humanity to his "Paroles d'un Croyant." If he spoke as a believer, he acted like one, and his presence made the judges of the peers' court tremble beforehand.

He is the only Catholic priest who employed the powerful morality of the Gospel against despots and tyrants.

In his paper entitled "L'Avenir," he constantly defended Ireland against England and Poland against Russia.

His "Paroles d'un Croyant" has circulated throughout Europe, and roused nations which had fallen asleep in the arms of despotism. He scourged kings after the manner of the Hebrew prophets.

CHARLES LAMETH.

He fought for the liberty of the Americans and was wounded at York Town. Having returned to France, he became colonel of the King's Cuirassiers, and gentleman-in-waiting to the Count of Artois; but he resigned this latter place. In 1789 he was deputed by the Artois nobility to the States-General, and joined the minority of forty-five who with the Duke of Orleans allied with the Commons. He showed himself extremely democratic in the early days of the National Assembly; afterwards he entered the Thirty league, who, jealous of the power exercised by Mirabeau, started persecutions, obstacles, and calumnies against

him. After the death of the great orator, the Thirty league ceased to be revolutionary and became constitutional. Some time after the arrest of the fugitive King on the 21st of June, 1791, Charles Lameth was appointed President through the influence of the Thirty votes; and it was he who, without consulting the National Assembly, on the 17th of July gave the secret order to M. de La Fayette, commandant of the National Guard, and M. Bailly, mayor of Paris, to stop by armed force the meeting of the people on the Champ de Mars, to sign a petition which demanded the overthrow of perjury. La Fayette fired upon the people, and there were many wounded. The blame of this sad display of force fell on the National Assembly, which was, however, ignorant of it. It was only in 1832, in a sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, when he was trying to pass a law on riots, that Charles Lameth declared at the tribune that it was he who, in his capacity of President of the Assembly, gave the secret order to MM. Bailly and de La Fayette to fire on the people. This fact was unknown since 1791, and it would have been so still but for the indiscretion of old Lameth. He made this admission even in the presence of La Fayette, who did not contradict it. On the approach of the events of the 10th of August, Charles Lameth set out for the headquarters of the army of the Ardennes, commanded by La Fayette, but he was arrested at Rouen. Being liberated, he took refuge at Hamburg and afterwards at Basle, and when pardoned by the First Consul, he returned to France and took service from 1807 to 1814. Being however appointed lieutenant-general by Louis XVIII., he scarcely appeared under the Restora-

tion, and only reappeared after the revolution of July, 1830, as a deputy for the arrondissement of Pontoise. He continued a minister until the time of his death in December, 1832.

MALESHERBES.

This name is one of the most honourable remaining in the memory of Frenchmen, among whom, however, virtue and probity have not always obtained distinguished rank. France can count few celebrated men who have shone more brilliantly than Malesherbes by uprightness, strict probity, unalterable modesty, simplicity and heroism. He recalls among us the most illustrious magistrates of ancient Rome.

His lofty reason brightened the first discussions which founded our political and civil liberty. He visited all the state prisons; he did more—he had them opened for all the victims of despotism, without discrimination. His speeches spread generous opinions, and his example spoke still more highly than his eloquence in the energetic remonstrances of the Court of Aids (taxes), in which he presided when the princes were about to bring in new and oppressive taxes. By that horrible fatality which revolutions do not excuse, but always retrieve and almost explain, the axe of parties struck this noble head which had grown white in the service of good. The agents of Coblentz, the hatred of the emigrated princes against this virtuous magistrate who had received the last confidences of Louis XVI. in the prison of the Temple, know more concerning the death of Malesherbes than all the revolutionists.

The time for justice for Malesherbes has arrived

with the nineteenth century. That justice can speak out and at last immortalise his virtues and pure patriotism without dispute. The chisel and the graver have already reproduced his features. A martyr of devotion to his country, sacrificed by the emigrated enemies of the monarch and their secret intrigues in Paris, this friend of virtue, truth, justice and liberty deserves all homage. He merits all the crowns of glory which legitimacy cannot give.

When we wish to eulogise Malesherbes, or rather when his country and his age are worthy of listening to the story of the life of a good Frenchman and a wise man, he should be represented opening the prisons, revolting only at the name of injustice, and putting a stop to persecution; he will be painted as a firm patriot at court, a passionate naturalist at Malesherbes, and a beneficent philosopher at Paris. He will always be found the same in the councils of kings, which he enlightened with his genius: in the dungeons of the Bastille, which he had opened during his ministry: and in the country where he defended the rights of virtue and performed a thousand kindnesses. He will be seen writing to J. J. Rousseau on botany and corresponding with the ministers on politics. This illustrious, beneficent life should be closed by showing him disgraced at court on account of his virtues, integrity and love of justice, and coming in his old age to pay the tribute of his gratitude to the most unfortunate of the Bourbons by courageously defending him.

In 1775, three years before the death of Voltaire, the virtuous magistrate Malesherbes said at the French Academy:

"Let us consider that the finest genius of our time would have thought his glory imperfect if he had not employed the ascendancy which he had gained over the public in relieving the unfortunate. I know that it is not for me to praise the talents of this universal man, in the presence of a public accustomed to be lavish in its acclamation, and before you, gentlemen, to whom alone it belongs to award the palms of genius; and I may be permitted, in the name of humanity, to thank the generous defender of several unfortunate families, and him who from the depth of his retreat can put the innocent under the protection of the whole nation; and I ought to observe, to the honour of my time, that the immortal poets who made the courts of Augustus and Louis XIV. illustrious had not the glory of joining to literary titles the sacred one of protector of the oppressed."

MANUEL.

Born at Aix in Provence, Manuel had not the noisy and heedless character of his co-patriots. More phlegmatic than a Picardian and cooler than a Belgian in the ordinary dealings of life, he became animated at the tribune with the aristocratic opposition; but he was methodical and unmoved when discussing the most difficult questions in the midst of the agitation of passions.

He was thin and pale. His bilious temperament bespoke a meditative mind. He was five feet three inches in height, of imposing presence, and had a self-conceited, concentrated air.

At first he entered upon a military career, and

rose to the rank of a captain of cavalry. Having had to complain of injustice, he resigned his commission.

From that time he gave himself up to the study of law and jurisprudence; and by his natural ability and work gained a reputation as an excellent lawyer.

It was at this time that Fouché, having been dismissed by Napoleon from his post in the General Police, and after a manner exiled to Aix, made the acquaintance of the lawyer Manuel, whom he encouraged in his work by leading him to hope that he would one day be able to utilise it at Paris.

The occasion was not long in coming. In 1815 Manuel was sent by his department to the Chamber of Representatives.

He saw Fouché—again Minister of Police—every day. This frequent company prejudiced him in the opinion of the Chamber.

After the abdication of the 21st of June, 1815, Fouché, being imprudently appointed a member of the provisional government, obtained the Presidency, had his agents and observers among the members of the Chamber, and employed them, knowingly or without their knowledge, in the execution of plans for the second Restoration, which he had secretly contrived with Talleyrand and Metternich, and proposed to put into execution with the assistance of Wellington and the majority in the provisional government, composed of Fouché himself, Quinette, and Caulaincourt; Carnot and General Grenier formed the minority.

After the abdication, the Chamber hesitated a long time before proclaiming Napoleon II., because the greater part of the representatives felt the necessity

of at once getting rid of two dynasties between which the French nation was constantly oppressed and enslaved. Being instructed by his agents as to the disposition of some minds, and knowing that the imperial party in office were about to put forward a motion for recognising Napoleon II., Fouché hastened, on the preceding night, to get the provisional council to decree that the execution and promulgation of laws and judicial judgments should be done provisionally in the name of the French people. On the part of the council this was usurping legislative power.

On the next day Manuel mounted the tribune and opposed the proclamation; he occupied the attention of the sitting until six o'clock in the evening, so as to get the Chamber to pass to the order of the day. The assembly, tired out with this long speech, which was only opposed by the former functionaries of the Emperor, such as Regnauld St. Jean d'Angely, Arnault and Boulay of the Meurthe, passed to the order of the day, and thus, without perceiving it, left the Chamber free for Fouché's corruptions and treason. The chief obstacle having been got rid of, Fouché had every facility for imposing the Bourbons on France again, and for dealing with the country, the Representative Assembly, and even the person of Napoleon himself. Thus all Manuel's oratorical talent only served on this occasion to separate him from the Chamber of Representatives, and place him in a very weak and unfavourable position for his own safety and continuance in office.

Manuel reappeared at the tribune on the evening of the 7th of July, when the Prussian regiments were entering Paris, which had been evacuated by the national

army. Prussian guns were at once placed in the Place Louis XV., and at the doors of the Chamber of Representatives. The orator in vain asked for the continuance of the sitting and invoked Mirabeau's own words; the sitting was broken up, and the representatives gave themselves up to the fate of military events. The empire of might was the only one existing in France at this moment, and that was wholly barbarous and foreign.

In 1816 Manuel again took up the business of a barrister, and was entrusted with the affairs of Marshals Soult and Masséna; he wished to be inscribed on the roll of barristers. The attorney-general, Bellart, who exercised immediate influence over M. Bonnet, the president of the order, asked for the opinion of the barristers of Aix, who passed for ultra-royalists. The Aix bar did justice to Manuel in a signal manner. The council of instruction of the Paris bar had not the courage to refuse him, but it had the meanness to indefinitely postpone Manuel's admission to the roll of barristers.

In 1817 Manuel, whose ability and the number of injustices he suffered made most interesting, was appointed deputy for the department of the Seine, without the manœuvres of ministerial authority.

When, later on, he was elected in La Vendée the extreme party offered useless protestations.

Manuel was gifted with great facility of expression; his eloquence was absolutely without heat and impetuosity, but was distinguished by a spirit of method and analysis; a complete master of himself, he allowed passions and violence to buzz around him, and waited for calm to again take up his reasoning or his speech

at the exact point at which he had left it when he was interrupted. These tactics of speech and silence have their advantages, but cannot move an assembly, or rouse its enthusiasm.

Manuel thus possessed the art of bringing the question back to its true point. He possessed the talent of discussion more than the art of eloquence, and the art of legislative and judicial reasoning more than the spirit of political oratory. His mind possessed more ability than nobility. His style was careless and diffuse, without imagery or fervour. His expressions were crude, and his language savoured of that of the southern provinces; but his style was at least copious, firm, and at times quick, when he was harassed or contradicted by anti-national passions.

A feature which distinguished him, and made him hated and dreaded by the enemies of liberty, was that he was always ready to fight, whatever ground or field of contest they might choose.

Knowing public law and history, and always armed and ready for the discussion of national interests and rights, he listened as well as reflected and grasped all the aspects of a question, but he lacked colouring and imagery, which add so much charm to speech and thought; he wanted imagination to enliven his reasoning and enthusiasm to communicate his patriotism to others.

Nature had not given him, as it gave Mirabeau, that mighty oratory, nor that grandeur of political views and oratorical expression which made the modern Demosthenes the giant of tempests and the regulator of revolutions.

But Manuel found himself in different times and

in quite opposite circumstances. Mirabeau appeared at the dawn of liberty, Manuel at its decline.

When Manuel discussed the violation of the charter and all the laws in the affair of the exiles of 1815, he did not perceive that it was a party question and not a question of law. He discussed it judicially. Treated politically it touched the existence even of the throne and the two chambers, the safety of which rests only on the sacred and necessary maxim of inviolability.

In order that the monarch may be inviolable in the acts of his government, the peer and deputy must be inviolate in their opinions and votes. This side of the question has not been touched.

Manuel and his colleagues of the opposition had better never have broached the question of the banished, who could only be judged by events, instead of making it the shameful object of secret transactions and a cruel farce at the tribune. Manuel lacked that oratorical skill which impresses without irritating, and enlightens without dazzling, and he was not able to hide bitter truths.

But at least his truthfulness deserves praise in another circumstance, in which he discussed the promises of the dynasty which had been rendered illusory by the exception laws. Manuel then said that the nation viewed the return of the house of Bourbon with dislike. These words were regarded as seditious; they were only imprudent in a country where even history could not set forth well-established facts.

It was in March, 1825, that the hatred of the aristocracy was arrayed against Manuel, and it is here his career of glory commences, because his courage was put to a great test.

Manuel mounted the tribune on the 1st of March to oppose the projected Spanish war. He demonstrated that the same means which had been the ruin of Louis XVI. were employed to ruin Ferdinand, and that it was necessary to avoid all aggression, which might give new energy to the Spanish nation. Manuel was violently interrupted by the emigrant majority, who were on the watch for the orator's words in order to compromise and accuse him. Manuel's words excited a pre-arranged uproar. But scandal was wanted, and the leaders had already repeated it in the drawing-rooms of the Faubourg St. Germain. The day for the show having been settled, the actors in this tumultuous scene played their parts and attacked the *tendency* of the orator's speech. He was accused of having approved of regicide, of which he had not spoken; others accused him of having loftily justified it, whilst he had only pointed out the causes which in England and in France, according to historical facts, had led to the death of Charles I. and of Louis XVI., and might be equally mournful for Ferdinand VII.

Manuel's expulsion from the Chamber of Deputies was pronounced by the majority without any real offence being proved against him, and without there being any pre-existing law on which to base this kind of misdemeanour. A vote of the Chamber was refused for an act most contrary to electoral supremacy, whilst this vote was granted to most trifling interests in circumstances still less interesting.

Excluded by a faction and expelled by a judgment given amid riot and remorse, which the violation of all rights and laws attributes to the unjust

judges, Manuel, in his soul and conscience, thought that he ought not to obey so illegal a law, and that he ought to maintain the mandate which the electors had given him by virtue of the charter. He presented himself at the sitting of the 4th of March, although he had been expelled in the sitting of the 3rd. He was accompanied to the hall by eighty-one deputies as nobly imbued with the force of their mandates and the justice of their cause as himself, when the President of the national representation summoned the armed force which is at his disposal as a guard of honour and not as an instrument of violence. A detachment of the third battalion of the fourth legion of the National Guard entered the hall, followed by a few veterans and their officers. Captain Fremont ordered the National Guard to expel M. Manuel; the sergeant of the company, M. Mercier, as well as the National Guard, made an expressive gesture, showing that he did not think the National Guard had been instituted to perform acts of violence on the nation's deputies. Then the President summoned the royal gendarmes (who were hidden in the courtyard of the Hôtel d'Avray), and a Viscount Foucaut, marching at the head of the gendarmes armed with carbines and sabres against the unarmed deputies in the Temple of the Laws, ordered his sbirri to seize M. Manuel. This brutal act incensed still more those who were already indignant at the outrage the President had ordered.

Manuel resisted this State outrage with calm, dignified courage; he was torn from the Temple of the Laws; national supremacy was insolently violated, and Manuel, accompanied to the outside of the court by

eighty deputies who were indignant at such atrocities, retired to the safety of his fireside, where it was more honourable to live than in the public offices of such a government. His mandate was at the Chamber, his place of honour at home, where all the friends of the country and liberty went to pay him well-deserved homage. Manuel made himself immortal by his noble courage on the 4th of March; previously he had only the the celebrity of talent.

"Sommes-nous heureux que celui-là soit mort!"

Such is the praise bestowed on Manuel by a political leader, who worked at the famous coalition under the feeble government of M. Martignac.

Generations to come will learn to know and appreciate the civic virtue, talent, and courage of this eloquent deputy, who almost alone spoke at the tribune on behalf of his country and liberty against that degenerate race who forced the allied armies on France.

A man of letters and a good citizen has rendered to Manuel's memory a tribute so touching and worthy of its object that it is impossible not to mention it here. It was his illustrious friend Béranger who said of him, "I have known only one man from whom it would have been impossible for me to alienate myself if he had attained power."

MARAT.

Marat, appointed as deputy by the electors of Paris in the National Convention after the prison massacres and the house-to-house visits, was regarded by many men as a secret agent of the emigrated princes (he had been veterinary surgeon to the Count of Artois

before 1789), and as yeast put into the revolutionary dough to make it ferment. This mysterious man could only be exposed by his acts and gestures. His writings and his paper, *L'Ami du Peuple*, caused him to be suspected, but revealed nothing; the nation was his dupe, and became fanatic.

Beguiled by the applause of the multitude, he believed he owed it to his writings, but only owed it to the terror which he caused in all classes of society. His revolutionary ambition daily vented itself in threats of death or spoliation against all beings and acquired positions in the social state; he flattered brutal and vulgar passions, inducing the multitude to arm itself to get rid of the more enlightened population, which he presented as an obstacle to its well-being. He was but a fierce knave and a little-esteemed writer. He was not even brave—one of the essential qualities of a demagogue. Being accused by the National Convention, he went and hid in a cave, from which he would not come out until he was assured that the jurors were favourable to him, and that the people would carry him in triumph to the Convention after the trial. On the other hand, he was very disinterested, and never troubled himself about the fortune which the generosity of his votaries would have bestowed on him; he died poor as he had lived. It will never be believed that one day the people of Paris, in their enthusiasm for the ultra-revolutionary journalist who daily excited them to insurrection and the extermination of the aristocrats and deputies whom they called statesmen, raised an altar to him, or rather a state chapel, in the middle of the Place du Carrousel. Our political history, by showing the erection and ruins of this monu-

ment, which was an insult to civilization, affords a lesson to the courtiers of the multitude, who are always as ardent and fanatical as they are variable and changing.

Marat was the secret agent of Pitt and of the court of Provence during the revolutionary crisis; he had been brought to the notice of the English minister and the emigrant prince by M. de Calonne, who had known Marat at Paris during the first Assembly of Notables, and had directed this writer's pen. It was of Marat that M. de Calonne one day said to the bookseller of the Faubourg St. Germain, who had made him known to him: "Ah! the Notables want revolutions; I will make some for them; your man will be very useful to me." Marat went to London during the first year of the Revolution, and took instructions from Pitt and M. de Calonne, who had sought refuge in England. On his return he published the first numbers of the *Ami du Peuple*, in which he propagated demagogic exaggerations. These first numbers were addressed as a homage to the Constituent Assembly, without doubt to legitimise the paper; for none then knew its true intention or secret inspiration. It was only after the 10th of August in the sanguinary days of the 2nd and 3rd September, 1792, and still more in 1793, that Marat urged the people on to the murder of the aristocrats and to suspect the deputies; he made himself a name of terror, with which the excesses in Paris during this period of troubles and violence were connected.

History has enveloped in horror the dismal memory of this demagogue, who was subsidised by royalty and the foreigner. The name of Marat bears a vague impression of reprobation and fright. He should be

signalled out as one of the most dangerous of the enemies of liberty.

MAURY.

The abbé Maury, born at Vaupréas, in the county of Venaissin, was of obscure origin, but the Church was a means of advancement, and it alone could obliterate the vain prejudices of the time. Maury resolved to go and mix himself up in the movement of the great capital which often brings great success or large fortune. On his way he met and made the acquaintance of Portal and Treilhard. The young doctor and lawyer were going to seek their fortunes at Paris as well as the young cleric. The latter then made predictions concerning himself and his two travelling companions which were in the end fulfilled. One of them became a celebrated professor and doctor to the king, the other a deputy in the Constituent Assembly and National Convention, and later on a member of the Executive Directory. As for himself, he became chaplain to the king, a member of the French Academy, a clerical deputy in the States-General, then a Cardinal and Bishop of Monte-Fiascone, and finally Archbishop of Paris under the Emperor Napoleon.

The abbé Maury having arrived at the capital with a consciousness of his own ability, begged Marmontel to present him to D'Alembert. The encyclopedists were then a power. D'Alembert ironically asked him, "Sir, do you believe in the Church?" "I believe in its benefits," replied Maury. "Ah, I see you are one of us." And from that moment the abbé successfully struggled against obscurity and

spiteful, jealous rivalries. He succeeded in preaching before the court of Versailles, and before the assembly of the clergy and the French Academy. He put the finishing touch to his celebrity as an orator by delivering a fine discourse before the thirty-nine immortals on the day of his reception. At this time he had become rich by the gift of a rich abbey given him by an old abbot of Boismont, whom he had made much of during his last years.

It was then that the assembly of the States-General was convoked, and Maury was elected a deputy as member of the clerical order. Maury wished to struggle with Mirabeau at the tribune of the Constituent Assembly, but the contest was unequal. The anti-national vehemence of the abbé was given over to the derision of the representatives by the great orator.

Maury wanted to defend the wealth of the clergy, and prevent it being declared national property; he failed on account of a speech of Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, and, to his great regret, Maury lost his eight hundred farms. He was no less unfortunate in his defence of the Pope's rights at the time of the decree of the civil constitution of the clergy, and he made fruitless efforts to stop the union of the county of Venaissin with France.

After the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly Maury, in 1791, betook himself to the court of the emigrant princes. He afterwards went to Rome to seek the cardinal's hat he had so well deserved. Pope Pius VI. eulogised him in public, and conferred on him the badge of a Prince of the Church.

Meanwhile Maury was not happy at Rome; his ambition was not satisfied with an appointment to the

bishopric of Monte-Fiascone, a gloomy and solitary residence, far removed from the agitation of the great towns, which made him regret his memories of Paris, his political debates, his unlimited ambition, and his chances of fortune and power.

When in 1797 the French, under the orders of General Bonaparte, were marching on Rome, Pius VI., who saw the cardinals flocking around him, sought Maury's counsel, who had not gone with the others in the hope of allying himself with the French, who were approaching Monte-Fiascone. Maury had sent a sure and trusty emissary to Bonaparte to ascertain the general's intentions with regard to himself. Bonaparte said that he highly esteemed the cardinal's talents and courage; but that if the French became possessed of his person, he had orders to have him conducted to France, where he ran great risk of being arraigned for having figured in the army and court of the emigrant princes. On receiving this answer, Maury burnt his papers and prepared for departure. "Could I be mistaken," exclaimed the cardinal, "in my estimate of this young general? I thought that he saw farther into events. If he attains power he must re-establish religion, and I should be useful to him." He departed with much regret for Florence, and hoped to be recalled; but his expectations were disappointed, and he made his way to the coast of Leghorn.

Doubtless Maury saw far into the future; he thought that glorious destinies were reserved for the young conqueror of Italy, and made vows for the re-establishment of worship in France. But all his hopes vanished through the course of military events: the Pope had to submit to the law of the victor, and

Maury was badly received at the Court of Rome for not having come to the aid of the Sovereign Pontiff when there was yet time.

Maury, ever ambitious, went to Louis XVIII. at Mittau, and afterwards to the Russian Court, and only returned to Italy after the death of Pius VI. to be present at the conclave which elected his successor. Having gone back to his bishopric of Monte-Fiascone, he was sad and dreamy there, and annoyed at being forgotten, which was the greatest torment to him.

After Napoleon had been consecrated Emperor by Pius VII. on the 25th December, 1804, Cardinal Maury did not write the customary letter to the new monarch; he required an order from the Pope to decide on an application which he probably desired to make, but in a manner to be noticed among the others. His letter produced such an effect that Napoleon pressed him to come to France, and Cardinal Maury hastened to avail himself of the invitation. From this time, urged on by his own ambition, he became one of Napoleon's most devoted partisans, and was more of a courtier than a Prince of the Church. Napoleon had fascinated him to such a degree that he made use of the Cardinal in his extravagant plans against Pope Pius VII., who had come from Rome to consecrate him.

However, the penetration and foresight of Cardinal Maury could not save the Emperor from the consequences of his fatal enterprise against pontifical power. The Cardinal and Napoleon in vain made and contrived intrigues; they could not get the French clergy to enter into their views, and from that time Maury lost the reputation and consideration which he had acquired in the French Church by his courageous struggles against

the Revolution in the Constituent Assembly. The remains of the order of nobility who had so much exalted him in 1789 only received him with very marked coolness. The constitutional bishops, whom he had stigmatised in his opposition speeches at the National Assembly, regarded his elevation near the Emperor with pronounced jealousy; and the Catholic bishops only looked upon him with extreme distrust, and regarded him as a turncoat. Never during his long career had Maury been so feeble, so sunk in disrepute, and so menaced by his equals as since he had been supported by the man who had conquered Europe.

Moreover, Napoleon's fall hastened that of the Cardinal; whilst the erstwhile Emperor went to the Isle of Elba, the former Archbishop was going to Rome; the one, after having a second time appeared on the first throne of Europe, went to die on the rock of St. Helena; the other, after having shone at the national tribune and the metropolitan see of Paris, was shut up in the castle of St. Angelo and retired among the Lazarists.

M. DE METTERNICH.

He was the most presumptuous of ministers and most perfidious of diplomatists.

His secret conversation with Napoleon at Dresden has often been cited. M. de Metternich did not forget that under the Consulate he had been thrown, by the First Consul General Bonaparte's orders, into a post-chaise with gendarmes, who led him to the frontier. Besides, M. de Metternich was so coolly hostile in his conversation with the great Emperor,

that the latter, becoming impatient, threw his hat to the other end of the hall. When he was calmer afterwards he was obliged to go and pick up his hat. This detail of the interview could only be known through Napoleon himself, who perhaps related it to his aide-de-camp Savary, or through M. de Metternich in one of his fatuous moments.

After having excited Napoleon's anger, M. de Metternich wrote an account of the conference with his own hand, which he immediately sent to the Emperor Francis II. at Vienna. This note never saw the light and M. de Metternich resolved that it should not be published during his lifetime.

Francis II.'s extreme confidence in M. de Metternich gave the latter great authority with the public of Vienna. The *débonnaire* Francis was so enthusiastic about him that one day he said to Madame de Metternich, "When you pray to God for me, pray with still greater fervour for your husband, for without the Minister the King would be nothing."

His star waned in 1826. The resistance of Hungary taught the Austrians to reason on servitude. The death of the Emperor Alexander I. killed Metternich, and his Congresses at Vienna, Aix-la-Chapelle, Troppau, Carlsbad, and Verona are no longer historical features of European despotism. To be aware of the mediocrity of this diplomatic prince, it is sufficient to surmise that he was the most ignorant and feeble of statesmen.

He was a man of cool and insinuating character, but with an ordinary mind, and of but slight political capacity. His Austrian ways mingled with diplomatic pride were highly displeasing to Napoleon, who chased him out of France. Metternich revenged himself in

the coalition wars which were stirred up by his habitual patron, the English government, at Wagram and Leipsic, and still more by Napoleon's sad, impolitic marriage with the Archduchess Marie Louise.

When I met M. de Metternich at the house of the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, M. le Chevalier Izquierdo de Ribera, that minister ostensibly occupied himself only with the ladies, secretly, to deceive and delude Fouché, the Minister of General Police.

When he returned to Vienna at the head of the cabinet, he laid all his political work on MM. Gentz and Yarcke, his chief secretaries.

In 1826 M. de Metternich still imagined that the Czar Alexander had bequeathed him his mantle to envelop all his little despotisms and cover up the people's chains.

He deceived Russian ambition from 1815 to 1825. He gave it a nominal absolute monarchy, he caressed the northern giant after having betrayed and excited the giant of the south. He took part in all sharings, and allotted the greatest part of the booty to himself. He coveted Bosnia and Servia as compensation for the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia. He wanted to give a European army and military laws to the Sultan Mahmoud for his greater good; and for his safety threw him into the abyss of eastern revolutions.

This statesman uttered a very insolent saying at the time of his last stay at Paris under the Villèle ministry. "The great European disturbance will be finished in two years." This speech indicates the manner in which the governments of Europe looked upon nations and understood their rights. In their eyes they are rioters, and in this capacity they are fit

to be put to the sword, after the example given at the Tuileries in 1789 by the Prince of Lambese; moreover, they were pursued, sword in hand, to Naples, Madrid, Turin, and Lisbon.

Another remarkable feature of the innate absolutism on the banks of the Rhine escaped him. On learning, for he never read, that M. de Pradt had said in one of his last works on South America, "*the human race is progressing*," "Ah, well," replied the Teutonic prince, "*we will occupy ourselves with stopping it.*"

Moreover, an Austrian minister undertakes to stop the irresistible progress of enlightenment, the progress of civilization and the perfecting of social order. This military director of two hundred thousand automata in uniform thought that with the aid of English subsidies, and his absolute will, he could prevent the human race from profiting by the treasures of printing and re-seizing its rights which had been usurped by force.

Indeed, since 1814, this diplomatist never ceased his efforts and intrigues to stop the constitutional movement in Europe, and above all, in Germany, he evaded the promises made to the German people at the moment of danger in 1812 and 1813, to limit the concessions already granted by some princes, and to subject the will of the sovereigns and the progress of the states comprised in the German confederation to a single direction.

He arrived in Paris on the 12th of March, 1825. The political object entrusted to him was the holding of a kind of congress relating to the recognition given by England to the independence of the free states of South America and the subjection of Spain and Greece. What is to be expected from the conferences of this

Minister of the Danube with the Minister of the Seine, who liked constitutions, charters, the liberty of the press and the rights of the people no better than himself? It is thought that M. de Metternich, having pursued and broken the liberty of the press down in Germany, wants to attack it in the last shelter preserved to it on the Continent, and to relegate it at last to England, where it must be put up with, being an insular country, where the decisions of the Holy Alliance do not prevail. The French ministry who re-established censure in the month of August, 1824, created a sinking fund of public spirit and newspapers, and detests the charter and free-speech, is scarcely likely to raise any obstacle to the Viennese politician.

The form of the coronation oath ought also to be modified by the Holy Alliance, who want to obliterate the word *charter* as being too significant. and to substitute for it the word *institutions*, which means nothing. This is foresight for Europe in the future, which will have institutions like Turkey.

He acknowledges that in his eyes charters, wherever they may exist, even in London, are but scourges. His horror of charters is not disguised, and his heart is entirely wedded to despotism, which he regards as the "beau idéal" for kings and nations. He knows of nothing better in politics than a tutelage without rules, arbitrariness without opposition, absolute and unbridled will, illimitable power, uncontrolled taxation, an ostensible master, and an ostensible monarch who has nothing better to do than obey an absolute prime minister, and an exclusive and insolent oligarchy who waste the public treasure with impunity and devour the nation without any securities.

Doubtless it is not new, but it only serves to make this system everlasting and unchangeable.

MIRABEAU.

The tyrannies of the Marquis of Mirabeau would have stifled the intellectual faculties of his son but for the truly paternal intervention of his steward, who blamed this conduct towards a spirited young man who showed early a bold, independent inclination. The sensibility of his heart tempered his restless passions. He had a passionate and reckless youth because his good instincts were misunderstood and thwarted, and his passions prevailed.

His father had him confined in the Island of Ré, and afterwards sent him to Corsica, enrolled in the Lorraine legion at the age of twenty.

It was a kind of disinheriting.

He found his only support and consolation in his uncle the steward, who thought that whatever young Gabriel's asperities of character might be, they could be overcome by a more kindly and enlightened management. In retirement in his castle, Gabriel made himself beloved by the peasants.

It was in the little town of Manosque in Provence, to which his father had banished him, that he composed his "Essay on Despotism."

Later on he was shut up by the marquis's order in the Castle of If, a citadel built on a bare rock near Marseilles, and was afterwards transferred to the Castle of Joux in the Jura mountains. Mirabeau, in vain summoning his wife and son, yielded to a violent passion for Mademoiselle Monnier, and escaped with

her to Holland. He was arrested there and taken to the Castle of Vincennes, where he remained a prisoner until 1781. Then his wife asked for a separation in the Parliament of Aix. This trial revealed Mirabeau's eloquence, which was destined for the agitations of political life.

Everybody knows his "Letters to Sophie, written in the dungeon of Vincennes." Here he is not a novel-writer composing a romance, who, in obedience to his imagination, brings powerful situations and opposite characters together for dramatic effect; he is not a memoir-maker writing to amuse the public, and carefully treating a prudent confession of his acts and gestures, and thereby making himself appreciated by accusing himself. He is an unhappy lover, a state prisoner, who has secretly obtained permission to write to his mistress, and who, being certain that the pages in which he lays bare his heart will not be seen by others, gives himself up with delightful abandon to the only consolation which remains to him, that of painting the tender feelings and profound sorrows which consume and occupy his life.

La Harpe observed that in Mirabeau's letters there is always the same situation, the same sentiment and the same cry of love; yet, nevertheless, these three large volumes of letters are read with as much pleasure and interest as the most touching novel. Women do not see enough tenderness in his passion, and indifferent people have reproached him with excitement and physical emotion more than true sensibility. Egoists and men of the world think that the influence of a long captivity accentuated his sensibility, and the cynics say that Mirabeau would have

loved less had he been free. But a singularly remarkable document, quite beyond criticism, is the apologetic letter addressed by Mirabeau to his father. This letter of more than a hundred pages is a consummate model of reasoning, refined and bitter irony, and penetrating conviction which will never be surpassed.

The "Essay on Despotism" was the first writing from his pen, which was already so freely and eloquently presented that the absolute government of Louis XV. appeared dismayed by it. Mirabeau composed this work at the age of twenty-three. Courtiers have accused him of exaggeration, incoherence, and bad taste; necessarily they must judge the style of a free man thus. But enlightened men and independent minds have admired its logical force, energetic style, and the depth of that high-spirited and stern eloquence which twenty years later was to stir up political passions and national sentiment with such *éclat* and success.

Not being able to get rid of the turbulent genius of Mirabeau by the salutary rigours of prisons, the monarchy of Versailles sought to utilise it in occult diplomacy.

Having filled Europe with his warlike renown, Frederick II. lived as a philosopher, and corresponded with the encyclopædists of Paris. Louis XV.'s Minister of Foreign Affairs entrusted Mirabeau with a secret mission to Berlin to keep the cabinet of Versailles acquainted with the course of events which happened in Prussia on the death of the great King. Mirabeau's style and keen sight enabled him to collect documents, anecdotes, plans, and remarkable observations which were useful to Louis XV.'s policy. On his return from Berlin, Mirabeau was sought after by ministers and

curious politicians, who were eager to be made acquainted with the *personnel* of the Berlin court, and the sayings, features, and thoughts of Frederick.

Mirabeau, after having for some time made merry with the whole *personnel* of the Prussian court, published his observations under the title "A Secret History of the Court of Berlin."

Hypocrites in Paris blamed this publication and bought it; the court appeared indignant at it, when Prince Henry, brother of the great Frederick, came to visit Louis XVI.'s court in 1787 and 1788, and Parliament condemned the book to be publicly mutilated.

A profound statesman, enlightened by his studies, banishments, travels, and meditations, of noble origin and popular opinion, he would have made a Revolution like the Gracchi if he had had in France a senate as powerfully unjust as the Roman aristocracy. But, as in 1789, a single *journée du peuple* on the 14th of July sufficed to put to flight the braggart and chivalrous supporters of feudalism, neither Caius nor Tiberius Gracchus would have had anything to do in our forum. Mirabeau opened the popular Revolution in France, which will be the revolution of the peoples of Europe when the lights and ideas of civilisation have penetrated the masses of the continental population.

Posterity will confirm him in the title of the first and greatest political orator of France. It will recognise the eminent services he has rendered to the popular cause, the *tiers état* which, through the wholly patriotic eloquence of Mirabeau, was elevated to the rank of the National Constituent Assembly.

But posterity will refuse him the title of a virtuous and incorruptible patriot; thick clouds have sprung up

over this reputation to dispute its morality. I do not, however, think that Mirabeau's heart, which had been for a long time filled with powerful hatred and righteous anger against despotism, could ever betray the cause of liberty. He obeyed his passions and the requirements of his luxury and pleasures; but this transient sway of his passions was far removed from egotistical, frivolous interests and an odious, culpable defection from the sovereignty of the people. There was no room either in his genius or in his thoughts, still less in his noble heart, for treason.

It is said the Court flattered Mirabeau with the hope of being prime minister; but this ambition of a true statesman would have been profitable to the nation and the object of its revolution. If any powerful hand could have consolidated constitutional monarchy and the establishment of royal democracy, Mirabeau alone would have been able to accomplish this political miracle; if Mirabeau had been a minister, France would not have sustained the second political commotion of the 10th of August, and the sad consequences of the foreign invasion.

He acted towards the States-General as he ought. In advance of his age by character, principles, and views, he would have been equally so in virtue and benefits if he had kept his enlightenment and talents for public things. Having played the *rôle* of Satan in the pandemonium of libertines, he would have been the Olympian Jupiter of the Revolution. When he had participated and excelled in the age of national corruption, he would have become its reformer. The soul is firmer and more capable of greater things when it has passed through the violent fire of passion. His

errors would have helped his virtues in the same way as a precious plant grows more vigorously in a soil which has been stirred up than in virgin ground.

Before his death Mirabeau concluded a treaty with the Court of Louis XVI. The King was to go to Lyons and proclaim a constitution more monarchical han that of 1791, and immediately convoke his first Legislative Assembly. Mirabeau's death alone prevented the execution of this project, which was replaced by the sad conception of Varennes. Thus Mirabeau is the only man who has at the same time excited the regret of the court and of the people. He died just in time for his glory; for this Hercules of the Revolution would have subdued neither the people nor the court. In his history, M. Thiers makes a demigod of him; he is a colossal figure who towers above all others and to whom more than one sacrifice is made. Mirabeau, without doubt, had a wondrous genius and a great character; but these qualities, when separated from all virtue and morality, become formidable, and if they still exact admiration, have no longer any claim to esteem. The duty of the historian is to brand them. From the time that Mirabeau received gold from the court to uphold its interests, he is no more than an ordinary ambitious person without glory and without dignity, such as may be seen in all courts, countries and ages. The enthusiastic historian vainly protests that the celebrated orator will not sacrifice the principles which he constantly professed, that he will content himself with stopping the car of Revolution; is it necessary, then, that to be just, he must be venal, and that conviction only reached him with his salary? A country cannot be reformed by vice; and if Washington

and Franklin had had passions as strong and exacting as those of Mirabeau, North America would still have been the slave of England.

I heard him accused of corruption during the Constituent Assembly. I often saw him in his house in the Chaussée d'Antin; when I dined at his house with several of my colleagues, the latter spoke to him concerning the rumours of venality spread by his enemies. He did not contradict them; he laughed a great deal and even made game of his corruptors. He resembled those women who are always paid for and never bought. The intriguers of high degree could easily give him gold, but Mirabeau never gave himself up. He carried his independent opinion to the tribune, and left complaint and shame to the personages who were deceived in seeking to buy his opinion.

Ceaselessly interrupted at the tribune by the envious party of Lameth, Barnave, Laborde, Menon, &c., Mirabeau stigmatised and signalised it as an impotent faction by exclaiming in a thundering voice: "Silence, you thirty voices!" It was telling them that the right of improving and prohibiting belonged only to the national majority, and not to a coterie.

This famous saying, "Silence, you thirty voices!" produced such an effect on the faction thus mortally wounded, that it never again interrupted the great orator. Moreover, he often repeated that the majority in a representative assembly was a power, a tree strongly planted in the middle of the people.

At the Constituent Assembly Mirabeau could not bear La Fayette; he several times made merry over this general. One day he said that he was only fit for a nap.

At a sitting of the Jacobins in 1790, presided over by Mirabeau, a Paris bookseller sent the society several copies of the General Almanack of the National Guard. It was the custom for the president to announce to the society the various parcels which were addressed to it. In announcing the Almanack of the National Guard, Mirabeau read the dedication of the volume. "To M. de La Fayette, lieutenant-general of the French army and general of the United States, knight of the order of St. Louis and Cincinnatus, Commandant of the National Guard of Paris, &c." Luckily, added Mirabeau, with a malignant smile, we cannot yet read "and Mayor of the Palace."

In a drawing-room Mirabeau's conversation was fascinating, brilliant, amiable, and caustic, but always in decorum, propriety, and good taste.

In his study he was profound, without bitterness or mistrust. He was never like those mediocre minds who in political affairs cannot follow a conversation, but interrupt and never reply, who elude explanations and tack around difficulties instead of solving them.

Mirabeau's political business was not difficult if it was not with mediocre men, or those who appeared to him to be suspicious or malevolent.

A great worker, but overwhelmed with the occupations of the National Assembly, he directed in a marvellous way learned workers and some Genevese patriots who had attached themselves to his political fortune.

In the direction of works which he was having executed, no man possessed like he did that comprehensive view and information on masses of ideas for putting in order or elaborating in detail.

It is, above all, as a man of the future that Mirabeau must be considered. He possessed so exalted a mind, such profound thought, such subtle precision, that he judged men and things superlatively well. He did not allow himself to be mastered by events; he had them sounded and pointed out to the accidental politicians who surrounded him in the Assembly to deceive him and deprive him of the fire of his thoughts; intriguing men who lived from day to day, and who, jealous of his political superiority and oratorical talent, only occupied themselves with intrigues for annulling, neutralising, or even spoiling it.

Some have wished to establish a parallel between Mirabeau and General Foy. Mirabeau was a political orator at the birth of liberty; General Foy became a political orator during the fall of all national rights and liberties. Mirabeau was a statesman by study, meditation and genius; General Foy became a politician through circumstances, the indignation inspired in him by the foreign military occupation, ministerial arbitrariness, and the spectacle of wasting and political calamity.

Mirabeau protected the cradle of liberty and equality by his genius and eloquence; General Foy displayed his talents and courage on the tomb of public liberties.

Mirabeau came out of the dungeons and prisons of regal tyranny when he was called to defend the rights of the people; General Foy had just left the exalted ranks of the imperial army when he came to resuscitate the independence and almost forgotten glory of the national tribune. Mirabeau's starting place for the Assembly was the Bastille; the rank of general officer was the point from which General Foy started for the Chamber of Deputies.

Mirabeau, of noble family, was directly elected to the States-General by the votes of the commons; General Foy, of low birth, was sent to the Chamber of Deputies by the delegates of an aristocratic electoral system; but both energetically defended the nation's cause.

Mirabeau assisted as a giant in the creations of democratic liberty; General Foy pointed out as an upright and enlightened citizen the successive demolitions of representative government by ministerial hands.

Mirabeau had to fight the two aristocratic orders hand to hand, opulent theocracy, feudalism and absolute royalty; General Foy had to struggle against ministerial corruption, venality and waste.

Mirabeau energetically denounced the all-powerful scourge of stock-jobbing, and successfully laboured in establishing the true power of public credit; General Foy's eloquence only served to light up the abyss in which public morality and national credit were engulfed for a few moments.

Mirabeau, in the midst of court prodigality and traffic in opinions and reputations, died poor; the nation had to bear the cost of his funeral and the payment of his debts; General Foy, in an age of gold, in which ability is discounted, everything sold, even silence, and in which traffic and commerce is carried on with national rights and public liberties, also died poor, and his interesting family had to be adopted and endowed by the subscriptions of good citizens.

Narcissus in fable, and Antinous in history, were endowed with great beauty; but beautiful men are not great men.

Nature has established a better system of compensation than Doctor Pangloss; from Socrates to

Mirabeau, these compensations have happened often enough.

It is a great advantage to be plain, but it should not however be abused. This original saying comes from an orator more witty than eloquent, the Abbé Maury, who was at least as ugly as his illustrious adversary; but his ugliness was not becoming and imposing like that of Mirabeau, who was vain of his face. Mirabeau was proud of his ugliness as another would be of his beauty. He knew that he was in positions and circumstances in which deformity of feature is more often a recommendation than an obstacle.

In 1789, during the early days of the National Assembly, M. de Mirabeau, senior, died at Argenteuil. His two sons, who were deputies, the elder in the commons and the younger in the peers, took part in their father's obsequies; all the honours of the time were rendered to him. The National Guard and the public functionaries wished to honour the remains of the *friend of men*, and the people of Argenteuil flocked to it in great crowds.

When M. de Mirabeau's body had been lowered into the grave, the inhabitants of Argenteuil raised unanimous acclamations of "Vive Mirabeau!" and, so that the younger Mirabeau should not be mistaken as to the general wish of the people, they repeated "Long live Mirabeau the pock-fretten!" (alluding to the numerous marks of small-pox with which his face was covered). Thus a bodily defect, far from being a detraction, became a remarkable commendation.

"It was difficult not to look at Count Mirabeau for a long time when one had once seen him. His

immense head of hair distinguished him among all; it has been said that his strength, like that of Samson, depended upon it; his face gained even by its expression of ugliness, and his whole person presented the idea of irregular strength, but the sort of strength one would imagine in a tribune of the people."[1]

"Too many personal interests swayed Mirabeau's genius in the Constituent Assembly for him to serve it freely. His passions surrounded all his faculties like the serpents of the Laocoon, and we see his strength in the contest without being able to hope for his triumph."[2]

In a few conferences Mirabeau sounded the moral value and political energy of the Duke of Orleans, who was a member of the Constituent Assembly, and he was convinced, after having examined and heard him, that no political enterprise or revolutionary project could be founded on such a character.[3]

When Garat wrote in the *Journal de Paris* in 1790 on the eloquent speeches of Mirabeau in the Constituent Assembly, he recalled and applied to him Æschines' saying on Demosthenes: "What would be the result of your having heard the monster?"

Madame de Staël says again: "I have in my possession a letter written by Mirabeau to be shown to King Louis XVI. In it he offers the King every means for making France a strong and worthy but limited monarchy; he uses this remarkable expression: 'I

---

[1] Such is Madame de Staël's opinion of Mirabeau in her "Considérations sur la Révolution française," vol. i., chap. xvi., page 186.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., chap. xii., part ii., page 352.

[3] *Ibid.*, part ii., chap. vi., page 306.

should not like to have brought about only a vast destruction.' "

He triumphed over a crowd of obstacles which nature and art put in his way. He made women forget that he was ugly when he proved that he was strong. He made men forget that he possessed genius when he remained silent, and seemed to meditate complacently on the ostentatious display of principles delivered before him. He nourished women's passions and men's ambitions. He fascinated the former through self-love, and the others through the vanity of intellect and renown; he had a kind of coquetry in speech with both sexes. The multitude, to whom he only gave laconic expressions and a colossal grandeur of talent and popularity, he struck with admiration. He possessed eloquence, at one time quick and condensed, at another animated and vigorous. He succeeded in becoming everybody's man, in the town, in court, for liberty and for monarchy; his moral and political life was constantly agitated with projects and realities. Not a moment was lost to his various ambitions, the strongest of which was that of mastering minds and directing wills. He was sought after by all parties; the court sent MM. Talon and de Lamarck, one an indefatigable Parisian intriguer, the other a cool politician from Brussels.

What contributed to Mirabeau's political power was not so much his brilliant eloquence as his tribunal character.

If those vigorous traits which stir up men's souls to their greatest depths are found in his genius, it is because his wholly plebeian opinion was in sympathy with the age and the rights of nations. It was when he had

to struggle against those insolent aristocracies and usurpers of public liberties that Mirabeau raised his thundering voice and confounded all despotism. Then he was truly eloquent and sublime.

"I am the people," he cried, "and I will defend the people until the last moment of my life."

In the spring of 1790 someone said to Mirabeau, "My lord, do you not think that the Revolution has reached its limit, and that it would be well to stop it?"

"Monster," replied Mirabeau, "do you wish to prevent the nation which still has cataracts from having men who can cure them?"

"Kings have penned up nations long enough, is it not now quite time nations enclosed kings?"

When he was told of the attacks and calumnies which his enemies continually made to do away with his influence in the Constituent Assembly, Mirabeau said:

"Yes, my former errors have cost the commonweal very dear." A profound saying which proves the true patriotism of this great and so much calumniated man.

In a sitting of the Constituent Assembly in which assignats were being discussed, Mirabeau saw himself confronted at the tribune by a crowd of members of the Right. They gesticulated violently, and covered the illustrious orator with menaces and gross insults, when the latter, turning towards his feudal bullies, said to them in a firm tone and thundering voice: "Gentlemen, I have always a cane for the insolent and a pistol for assassins!" At these unexpected words the turbulent nobles descended in troops to their places; and Mirabeau continued to calmly discuss the question which was the order of the day.

Mirabeau felt that he was about to die; and at the time, far from being distressed, was elated. A cannon was fired for a ceremony, and he exclaimed: "I already hear the funeral of Achilles." Indeed, the intrepid orator, who had with constancy and skill defended the cause of liberty and the people, could be compared to a hero.

During the course of his illness a young man, having heard it said that if new blood was introduced into the veins of a dying person he would recover, came and offered himself to save Mirabeau's life at the expense of his own. Mirabeau suffered cruelly in the last moments of his life, and being no longer able to speak, wrote to Cabanis, his friend and doctor, to get him opium—those words of Hamlet, "To die—to sleep."

On the day after Mirabeau's death nobody in the Constituent Assembly could look upon the place in which he was accustomed to sit without sadness. . . . The great oak had fallen.

DE MONTLOSIER.

M. de Montlosier ought to have been born under Louis le Débonnaire at the beginning of the feudal system. This nobleman of Auvergne was the habitual defender of all the Gothic institutions and old prejudices. He was a propagator of colonial slavery and serfdom. In his chivalrous and lordly fancy he opposed everything that might lead to the emancipation of human races and social classes and conditions.

This lettered lordling said in the Chamber of Peers,

in the sitting of the 1st March, 1833, *à propos* of the legislation of our colonies, that having read much and meditated upon history, he did not know of any nation without slaves. This fact sufficed to prove to what age the honourable peer belonged. When he said that "all who do not possess anything ought to be afraid of societies," he was applauded by his new colleagues, who were nearly all upstarts of recent date. He upheld that the greatest English minister, Mr. Pitt, had been the defender of the slave trade, and that it was his successors and the Congress of 1815 who had imposed the abolition of the trade on France and the other powers, because they could no longer derive a profit from it themselves.

M. de Montlosier was one of the bullies of the Right in the Constituent Assembly. He emigrated, and the consular amnesty brought him back to France, where he kept writing for the monarchical principle under the Empire. Napoleon gave him a pension for praising the old feudal and absolutist traditions. But under the Restoration he lost this pension and set himself to rail at the Jesuit and priestly party. These underhand but violent attacks were displeasing to power. Being nominated in a batch of peers by the ministry of the 11th of October, 1832, he thought he ought to signalise his gratitude by gross invectives against the periodical press, at a time when it was courageously rendering most eminent services to the cause of the nation and its rights.

During the Consulate he edited the *Courrier de l'Europe* in London. In it he attacked the Revolution and consular government; Bonaparte ordered Talleyrand to give six thousand francs as a pension from

the fund for foreign affairs. This proceeding and the abandoning of his London papers were negotiated in 1803 by Fiévée, who was sent to England after the treaty of Amiens, and who published his "Observations sur l'Angleterre" on his return to Paris to disguise his mission to M. de Montlosier. From that time the latter became one of Bonaparte's great admirers, and filled with his praise the book which he published in 1814, "De la Monarchie française," after having made several alterations in it. Later on he obtained another six thousand francs' pension as a political writer; a veritable sinecure which the minister Villèle suppressed. But M. de Montlosier continued to draw the six thousand francs which was the price of his giving up the *Courrier de l'Europe* under the Consulate.

Under the Empire he wrote feudal and monarchical pamphlets. Napoleon knew his man; for M. de Montlosier, who at the Constituent Assembly had shown himself as the most chivalrous of country squires, and a most ardent anti-revolutionist, perfectly agreed with the old proceedings to which the imperial *régime* pretended to attach itself.

Afterwards, M. de Montlosier was employed at the Foreign Office. He compiled memoirs on certain subjects of the policy of this time. When Napoleon conceived the continental system, he drew up a memorial to justify the famous Milan and Berlin decrees. This memorial, which was sent to the Duke of Bassano, the secretary of state, so fixed his attention that he placed it before the Emperor. This particular fact would have been ignored, if M. de Montlosier had not vaunted it at the Chamber of Peers in 1833, in

the sitting of the 4th of June, at the time of the discussion on the debt of 25 millions on the United States. Here are his words:

"The Milan and Berlin decrees are not unknown to me. I was then employed at the Foreign Office. I drew up a memorial at this time which claimed the attention of one of the most distinguished statesmen, who sits in this chamber, and who for a long time sat in the councils of the empire" (glances were directed towards the Duke of Bassano).

By education, M. de Montlosier belonged to feudalism, by his principles to absolutism, and by inclination to every species of monarchical government.

At the sitting of the Chamber of Peers of the 19th of April, *à propos* of twelve hundred thousand francs of secret service money asked for by M. d'Argout, M. de Montlosier's ultra-ministerial declamations were all directed, not against a secret and wasteful police, but against the liberty of the press. He also, like M. Viennet, accused legality of killing men, whereas it ought only to kill the press.

But admire the contrast: a minister, M. d'Argout, upheld in this same sitting the hypocritical opinion that the liberty of the press, being a fundamental liberty of the country, should always be respected by the government. "The government," he said, "can only lay guilty writings before the tribunals. *Government does not dictate judgments.*" Yet, nevertheless, the six ministers voted at the Chamber of Deputies on the 9th of April with the enraged majority, for the summoning to the bar of *La Tribune*, so as to suggest, by this example, severe verdicts to the assize judges, who, up to the present, had refused to become

accomplices in the oppression of the country and the ruin of liberty.[1]

In the last years of the Restoration, M. de Montlosier refuted in a striking and even brutal manner the doctrines of M. de Bonald. It was noble against noble. He denounced the society of Loyola for its ultramontane religious opinions and for its spirit of encroachment on civil government. But slavery to the opinions imposed by the Jesuits should be denounced; he should have attacked the exorbitant privileges granted to a belief and sect hating, and hated by, all others. However, we cannot deny that this noble champion of Gallican liberties possessed courage, order and candour, although he continually showed himself as the defender of a system of castes and denominations. In his works on monarchy, M. de Montlosier attempts to recompose, with elements surviving the Revolution, the old monarchical absolute and feudal society which was the object of his regrets.

From the depth of his castle retreat in 1825 he hurled a book against Jesuitism which crushed those infamous wretches. In July, 1826, he arrived in Paris with a second book against the disciples of Loyola; before France he exclaimed, *There are your enemies*, and these words were a glimmer of light which enlightened every citizen. He was surrounded and thanked. He rendered a great service to the country by carrying

1 The six ministers voted against *La Tribune* at the Chamber of Deputies in April, 1833, in spite of the observations of M. Dupin, who had begged them not to do so; he reminded them that in 1825, on a similar occasion, the ministers Villèle, Corbiese and Peyronnet, being invited to vote by the president M. Ravez, replied that they were in the chamber as ministers of the crown.

fright into the mysterious den of these ultramontane agents of the general conspiracy.

He was accused of being feudal; we might reply that he was not a hypocrite. And the powerful monks will disappear. M. de Montlosier gave France and Europe a great lesson.

His style is animated, elegant, and often familiar and *bizarre*. His expressions and his formulæ are extraordinary. He said that "the whole grandeur and strength of a priest consist in his humility;" the expression "esprit-prêtre" is his. In his youth he occupied himself with natural science, and in his maturity with feudal institutions. Having made researches on the extinct volcanoes of America, he wrote criticisms against the volcano of liberty, which was in a state of eruption in France in 1789. As a deputy from the nobility of Rions to the States-General, he thought to make a reputation by opposing Mirabeau and the partisans of his doctrines. Public opinion rose up against his ideas, and reason beat his feudal routines into ruins. Protesting every day against the spirit of the age and the progress of reason, he defended feudalism with the zeal and frenzy of a knight defending his lady. He could not support the natural and pious principle of the equality of men in the eyes of the law. Only once, and by chance, did he speak in favour of liberty. It was an error of his oratorical zeal. He did not wish that there should be active citizens; his political *morale* only admitted of passive citizens.

Two men existed in Montlosier, the feudal noble and the Gallican Christian. His book on the French monarchy was requested by Napoleon, and he published

it in 1814. What is more curious is his correspondence with Napoleon. It revealed a crowd of remarkable facts; his memoir against the Jesuits is a remarkable work like that of Blaise Pascal. It occupied all minds in France and irritated every ambitious person at Rome. Montlosier was mayor of his village in Auvergne. This old castellan having become a municipal officer, did much good in his administration and did not keep his position. He successfully devoted himself to rustic works.

THOMAS MOORE.

He passionately loved Ireland, his native country, and owes his happiest poetical inspirations to the songs which from time immemorial have been sung in the mountains of Erin; his melodies, patriotic lays which form his best title to the esteem of men of taste and the admiration of his fellow-countrymen, have been collected in one volume. There is filial piety and national enthusiasm in the tears which the fall of Ireland caused him to shed, a country formerly glorious, now resounding with the cries of slavery. It was thus that in ancient times the captivity of the Hebrews suggested psalms and most touching melodies. It is astonishing to see that these Irish melodies have obtained almost as much success among their English oppressors as among the oppressed Irish themselves.

Should it not be said that in reading these odes, English pride is pleased because the memory of defeat recalls that of victory, or the tears of slavery revive the pleasures of dominion? The English, naturally proud and arrogant, like to think that they hold islanders, like themselves, in a state of vassalage.

Fond of independence, they are pleased to think that they have had to crush spirits which they have never been able to beguile.

Such is Moore's love for everything that bears a national character, that he wanted to compose words for the airs in favour among the different nations of the world. "Lalla Rookh" is an Oriental romance of mingled prose and verse, and rich as the colours of the Asiatic sun. The "Loves of the Angels," which is so much admired in France, and several other known works would have sufficed for the reputation of a poet; but Thomas Moore has immortalised himself by singing of the misfortunes of his country, as Homer of old celebrated the victories of the Greeks.

We are ignorant to what musicians we owe the greater part of the national airs of Ireland and Scotland. Carolan (died 1738) is the only one whose name remains affixed to his compositions; they possess a charm which depends above all on local colour; but to be appreciated, they must in general be united to the prosody of English verse; moreover, they are little liked by foreigners. However, a few of these songs have been borrowed with success by some European nations; the famous refrain of "The Knights of Avenel" has been delightfully introduced on the lyric stage of Paris by M. Boïeldieu, in 1826, in *La Dame Blanche.* This refrain for a long while resounded in the valleys of Ireland; the French composer embellished or improved it; for national airs nearly always have a primitive character and decided appearance of roughness. However that may be, the oldest Irish airs appear to have been the best, and the admiration of writers who have spoken of them grows with time.

JOACHIM MURAT.

A cavalry general, he rendered Napoleon great services during his wars, and obtained the hand of his sister Caroline, a relationship to which he owed the throne of Naples. He was for a long time faithful to the imperial fortunes; and he is seen even in the month of August, 1813, leaving his capital to come to Napoleon's side to fight the Prusso-Russian hosts. Whilst a French bullet avenged the nation for the treason of Moreau, even in the camp of the Czar Alexander, the King of Naples, always faithful to imperial glory, performed prodigies of valour. He possessed heroic courage and was truly glorious on the battlefield. His strongly-marked countenance, high stature, sparkling eyes, and almost theatrical costume, combined in giving him the fantastic appearance of the heroes of Homer, and when at the head of the cavalry, his daring made him execute very bold and rash charges, he commanded success and obtained universal admiration.

A little later on, however, he sought political support outside the empire of Napoleon. History will one day tell the motives for it. What appears certain is that in 1814 the Earl of Oxford, travelling in Italy, was received at Naples with the greatest distinction by King Joachim, who then thought that he could not do better to preserve his throne than seek the support of England. But Joachim paid dearly for this error. On his return to London, in the same year, 1814, the Earl of Oxford had a special audience with the Prince Regent (afterwards George IV.), and communicated to him all the information which he had gathered concerning the situation of affairs in the south of Italy, as well as Joachim's proposals for concluding a close

alliance and commercial treaty between Naples and Great Britain. The momentary protection which was in fact granted to King Joachim at this time could not save him, and his new allies sacrificed him without remorse as without motive after the following year (1815) to other political combinations, in which it is averred that the Earl of Oxford had no part. A Castlereagh is sufficient for that.

At the time of the Congress of Vienna, Ferdinand, King of Sicily, was aided by Louis XVIII. and Ferdinand VII. in his claim of the kingdom of Naples, which was then occupied by Joachim Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law. The Duke of Castel-Cicala, as well as the Duke of Serra-Capriola, the second minister, claimed it in favour of Ferdinand. King Murat sought with the influence of Austria to rebut these pretensions, which were contrary to promised faith. He sent the Duke of Campo-Chiaro and Prince Cariati to the Congress; but they spoke of not admitting them, as being sent by an unrecognised sovereign.

The Duke of Campo-Chiaro, being at Paris, addressed me on behalf of Joachim to get me to make a memorial, in the form of a letter, justifying King Murat's rights. This writing, which I drew up in a short space of time, the Duke of Campo-Chiaro had printed at London; he brought copies of it to Vienna, which were distributed to all the members of the Congress and given to the public.

When attention is directed to the conduct of the King of Naples in the years 1814 and 1815, it cannot but be agreed that this unfortunate prince singularly contributed through his bad policy in twice overthrowing Napoleon. If, in 1814, Murat had not abandoned

the cause of France for that of Austria, France would probably not have been invaded; if, in 1815, he had not declared war against Austria, France would perhaps not have submitted a second time to the yoke of the foreigner.

The Emperor of Austria, seeing his son-in-law seated again on the throne of France, appeared disposed to negotiate with him, when Murat's attack made him think that it was part of a concerted plan with Napoleon (which was as false as it was absurd), and he broke off all negotiations, saying: "How can I treat with Napoleon when he attacks me through Murat?"

The position of the King of Naples was then false and dangerous, and he did not hesitate to prove it. He attempted to fight Austria; but his military operations were unsuccessful, and he re-entered the palace at Naples, saying to the queen: "*What do you ask? I have sought death everywhere, but have not been able to find it; death does not want me.*"

Being obliged to flee the throne of Naples, he took refuge in France, and went to live in retirement in the department of the Var.

He retired to a little country house near Toulon, but the violent passions which desolated Provence at this time obliged him to leave it. His life was several times threatened. Four generous, courageous men, among whom was Galvani, saved him by taking him to Corsica in a frail boat. Happy yet if he could have remained in Corsica! but French spies mingled with his supporters and persuaded him to go to Calabria, where the inhabitants were rising in his favour. He followed this dangerous advice. Having arrived on

the shores of Calabria, he was taken and shot by order of the restored Bourbon at Naples.

NECKER.

Jacques Necker was born at Geneva on the 30th of September, 1732, and died at Coppet in Switzerland on the 9th of April, 1804.

He was a merchant and financier, a statesman and writer. He lived amid the riches of the bank and the power of the ministry, but also among reverses and obstacles. He began as a simple banker's clerk and honourably attained fortune. Although a foreigner and Protestant (under the Bourbons), he was distinguished in society by his talents and virtues and his relations with men of letters and statesmen. He attained to the directorship of the public treasury, afterwards to the general administration of the finances; and it may be said that from him dates the dangerous practice at the public treasury of cooking the finances at the bank, and thus altering the nature of the science of fiscal resources and the wealth of nations.

However, he afforded a great and useful example, then rare in France, of daring to submit the acts and results of the secret administration of the finances to entire publicity, at the same time that by just reforms and cleverly multiplied loans he furnished the extraordinary expenses of the American war and tried to cover a dreadful deficit.

The intrigues of the Austrian party had him dismissed and put in his place a young intendant from Metz named Calonne, who was a bold, elegant spend-

thrift, and refused none of the extravagances of the Count of Artois and the Queen, and the latter's expenses in subsidising the war of Joseph II. against the Turks.

Later on, it was felt necessary to recall M. Necker as a saviour to charge him with convoking the States-General, who were needed to meet a deficit of fifty-five millions, and to establish new taxes without privileges or exemptions. The States-General, which had not been assembled since 1614, declared themselves reformers, but with such support in public opinion against abuses and excesses, that M. Necker did not dare at this moment of change and crisis to propose anything but provisional resources and financial ways and means. Moreover, the court party had him dismissed again; it needed perilous circumstances to recall him with glory on the 15th of July, 1789, the day after the taking of the Bastille.

On the 11th of July, 1789, M. Necker received a letter from the King, ordering him to leave Paris and France, and only recommending him to hide his departure from everybody. As soon as his disgrace was known, the theatres were closed as for a public calamity. (M. Necker was then regarded as a patriot, it was not known that he was the writer of all the documents of the royal sitting of the 19th of June, at which, through hypocrisy, he had not assisted, in order to give the impression that he disapproved of it.) Everybody in Paris took up arms on the evening of the 12th of July; less, however, because M. Necker was disgraced than because M. d'Artois had caused the prisons in Paris to be opened and had armed the criminals, who, having spread themselves in the streets

round the Palais-Royal, threatened to rob the rich shops. During this time the Prince of Lambese entered the Tuileries with his cavalry, chased promenaders out of the garden, and with his own hand sabred an old man on the swing bridge. That was the real moment of the sudden arming of the Parisians, who, besides, saw with uneasiness an army of sixty thousand men drawn up from the Champs-Elysées right to Versailles, round the hall of the States-General. "Certainly," says Madame de Staël, in relating the departure of her father,[1] "duty commanded him to obey the King's orders; but what man is there who, though quite obedient, would not have allowed himself to be led back by the multitude in spite of himself? History does not perhaps afford an example of man avoiding power with the care he would show in fleeing from proscription. For he must be at the same time the defender of the people to be banished thus, and the most faithful subject of the monarch to sacrifice for him so scrupulously the homage of an entire nation."

But nothing lasts in France. M. Necker was soon neglected and opposed both by the secret council of Versailles and by the Constituent Assembly. The only thing left for him to do was to forget his triumphs quickly, and accept his definite retirement at the end of September, 1789.

He went to Coppet to meditate on the emptiness of ministerial reputations; and there, in presence of revolutionary storms which he could only foresee or get a glimpse of, he slightly repaired his bad education as a publicist, which had been retarded or spoilt by his

[1] "Considérations sur la Révolution française," chap. xxi., page 236.

wholly financial administration. His last works prove his progress in politics; and he finished by showing himself just and liberal enough, after having said all the evil possible against the establishment of liberty, and sought to make the Revolution hated by his bitter and calumniatory criticisms. There are wise and profound views in his last writings which do honour to the judgment of this minister of the old *régime*.

NEY.

Ney was the son of a cooper of German Lorraine. He enlisted while very young in a regiment of Hussars, and at the time the French Revolution broke out he had attained the rank of quarter-master. The wars which France had to keep up against all Europe offered him opportunity for displaying his military talents and that cool intrepidity which distinguished him in battle.

In December, 1815, when Louis XVIII., the Duke of Wellington, and the Duke of Richelieu demanded, in the name of Europe, which scarcely suspected it, the head of the victor of Elchingen and Moskowa, he was given up to the Court of Peers, to which he belonged.

When the midnight assassins asked him, through the medium of their chief, "Who are you? Your name and titles?" "Michael Ney, marshal of France, and soon a heap of dust."

This philosophical reply, far from producing its just impression on the peers of Louis XVIII., only served to irritate their homicidal passions. A plebeian attorney-general (the son of a wheelwright of the Marais, at Paris) opposed the reading of the capitulation of Paris,

which was the solemn guarantee of Marshal Ney. Moreover, the accused only viewed his judges and judicial assassins; he got up to forbid every means of defence to his counsel. "I cannot be defended," he exclaimed, "since the reading of the capitulation of Paris, which was my safeguard, is refused me."

The sinister faces of Louis XVIII. and Wellington hovered over the tribunal. Midnight sounded, and the judges at the wish of power pronounced sentence of death. It was executed in the morning, in the very precincts of the palace, by bodyguards, emigrants, and Vendeans, disguised in the uniform of veterans.

Discussions on this proceeding prove that he was a stranger to the pretended conspiracy of recalling Napoleon from the Isle of Elba, and that the marshal had been spontaneously drawn to the emperor by his old, strong affection, as well as by sentiment and respect for his glory. M. Berryer, senior, a legitimist by principle, lent Marshal Ney the support of his eloquence, but condemnation was inevitable.

Marshal Ney's blood, which was shed with such revolting wickedness, brought misfortune to the reign of Louis XVIII., and still more to the reign of Charles X., neither of whom had the strength to uphold their violent measures.

Only after the Revolution of July were generous voices raised in favour of the memory of the *bravest of the brave*. In vain has the rehabilitation of this glorious memory been demanded; that of the judges ought to be asked for! Justice has not found any echo in the Bourbon chambers still remaining.

But one day, in a sitting of the peers, when the name of the marshal was pronounced with noble regret,

M. Pasquier, the president of the aristocratic chamber, and son of the man who had gagged Lally, hastened to enjoin silence on the orator, saying that all the peers were jointly liable for that judgment. The peers of Louis-Philippe's creation murmured and seemed to tacitly repudiate this pretended joint liability. The brave General Excelmans was there as he had been on the field of battle; he cried in a thundering voice: "Yes! the death of Marshal Ney was a judicial assassination!" These words created a profound impression in Paris and throughout France.

In the sitting of the 21st of March, 1835, a petition was presented to the Chamber of Deputies by M. Froment, a man of letters at Paris, demanding that an equestrian statue should be raised to Marshal Ney and placed before the principal entrance of the Luxembourg.

The reporter of petitions, M. Lemarrois, the son of a general of the Empire, only said, "Whatever regret the tragic death of the hero of Moskowa may give rise to, the commission is of opinion that the chamber cannot identify itself with the last sentiment expressed by the petitioners; it has instructed me to propose the order of the day."

M. de Bricqueville jumped on to the tribune: "I am about to oppose the conclusions of the commission; I think that it is the duty of the chambers to reinstate the memory of the illustrious victim, offered by absolute governments as a sacrifice to the principles of divine right." (The ministerial centre murmured.)

"The most illustrious of our warriors was killed as a mark of hatred of the revolution and our armies.

Marshal Ney will, I know, go down to posterity with a halo of glory as he marched at the head of our armies. It is none the less a good example to bestow this homage on him who preferred to die rather than abjure the title of a Frenchman, above all, when there are so many men at the head of affairs who have abjured that title. The petition asks that this monument may be raised in the garden of the Luxembourg; in this way a monument was raised to Joan of Arc at Rouen, on the place where she was burnt, a sad reproach! Marshal Ney has fallen like her, a victim of the violation of laws! He has fallen through the influence of the Duke of Wellington! I ask that this petition may be referred to the Minister of the Interior."

M. Dupin, the president (one of the marshal's advocates in the Chamber of Peers in 1815), hastened to say that the order of the day took precedence, and put it to the vote. (The centre rose in favour of it; General Bugeaud, all the Left, and many of the legitimist deputies voted against the order of the day.)

The president declared the test doubtful; animated protests arose; there was another division, and a ministerial deputy, M. Martin of the Nord, announced that the order of the day was carried. MM. Laffitte, Bricqueville, Salverte, Anguis and others declared that the officials were mistaken and asked for a call of the names. M. Dupin replied: "There is no occasion for a call of the names, it should have been asked for on the first show of hands; now the order of the day is carried." (Murmurs on the left.) M. de Bricqueville exclaimed, "Well, it is only one scandal the more!" The ministers MM. Humann, Guizot, Thiers, and Persil voted for the order of the day.

Thus, after twenty years of injustice, the Chamber of Deputies, elected in 1834, shamefully rejected this expiatory monument to the memory of an illustrious general. Time alone is the avenger of great iniquities.

A short time after the peers of Louis XVIII. had offered the blood of Marshal Ney as a sacrifice to the Holy Alliance, one of the sovereigns of that Holy Alliance took care to brand them with the stigma this cowardly cruelty deserved.

The following is the letter which the Emperor Francis II. wrote to Marshal Ney's widow, on the 20th of February, 1817:

"*To the Princess of the Moskowa.*

"MADAM,—Your letter of the 18th of January has reached me. In it you express a desire to settle definitely in Florence; our brother, the Grand Duke, would be eager to receive you there, if it were only to express the satisfaction we feel in seeing you establish your residence either in our hereditary dominions, or in those of the Princes of our family. The orders of our cabinet do not apply to you, madam; so you can regard as definite the authority to stay in Florence, which was granted in the month of April, 1816, or choose the residence which will best suit you in our dominions, trusting that you will be treated with the respect due to your misfortunes.

"We deplore the fatality of the circumstances which provoked the catastrophe that took away your illustrious husband. Remembering that he perished as a victim to human passions, and his devotion to a prince who was our ally in more than title, we make

it our constant duty to contribute in offering your great griefs all the consolation in our power.

"In inviting H.R.H. the Grand Duke, our beloved brother, to deliver this letter to you, we ask him to treat you as a person enjoying the whole of our friendship.

"May God keep you, madam, in his safe keeping.

"Written the 20th of February, 1817, in our palace of Schœnbrunn."

(Signed) "FRANCIS."

O'CONNELL.

The courageous apostle of Ireland, the intrepid defender of her liberties, eloquently exposing the miseries of his country and the tyrannies of England, his voice brought the cry of an oppressed people to the House of Commons; his complaints against power have the force of threats and the power of truth.

O'Connell appears, however, to deviate a little too much from the traditions left by the illustrious Irishmen of the eighteenth century. M. Augustin Thierry, in his admirable chapter on Ireland, summing up the history of eighteen hundred years during which this country enjoyed a free parliament and tried to accomplish a revolution, has shown how the character which ought to dominate reform should be more political than religious, in order that it may not be merely a transient crusade. O'Connell, departing too much from those traditions of the enlightened men of his country, stirred up the multitude by his religious beliefs; he is like a king of it, so that he has been reproached with it in the House of Commons, or at

least as a real and obeyed Pope. What his aim may be is not known; but with the way in which he is involved with this unhappy population, which he stirs up at will, it is hardly in Parliament that he ought to hope to decide the question. It is not there, under the arbitration of adverse parties, that these kinds of quarrels, which have rankled for a long time, have any chance of settlement. The Repeal of the Union afforded O'Connell judicious refutations to which it was difficult to oppose anything. In fact, the *Repeal of the Union* would be neither a pacific nor a rational remedy. It would lead to a thousand insoluble contradictions, and would be the signal of a smouldering state which O'Connell and Ireland might think legitimate, but to which the other side of St. George's Channel would be unable to agree. Liberties of this kind may be taken, but not asked for. As to the conduct of the English ministry in this serious matter, it appears scarcely likely to allay such great perils.

CASIMIR PERIER.

To judge men who have exercised power is to enlighten those who aim at following them.

A plebeian who gives himself the haughty airs of an aristocrat is unworthy of representing popular interests. An irascible, imperious and arbitrary character can only have slight desires for ruling, and not principles of government.

A vain bourgeois cannot take well to the ways of noble pride; he can give himself up to boasting of power, but he cannot get the fatuity of despotism. Money can never make a man a born aristocrat. Be-

sides, M. Perier, a banker appearing in the Chamber of Deputies among noble and indemnified emigrants and ancient feudal proprietors, found himself ill at ease in an assembly ruled by the prejudices of birth. He thought he was despised or at least slighted, and threw himself into the ranks of the opposition.

Casimir Perier carried all his bitterness of character into the debates of the Chamber. He opposed privileges more as an enemy who could not share their benefits than as a friend of the people, whose interests but slightly appealed to him. If sometimes he defended the rights of the nation, it was to defy the vanities of a compact ministerial majority. The first years of his political life were not only due to a sentiment of devotion and patriotism, but to his naturally restive character, and, above all, to his financial position, which he regarded as a means of influence and power. He showed himself in his true colours after the expulsion of Manuel and the death of General Foy. From that time he sought the favours of the court more than the praise of the opposition.

In spite of some virulent speeches that he delivered to gain effect, Louis XVIII. scarcely noticed Casimir Perier. Later on, Charles X. tried through officious chamberlains to instil some sparks of ambition into the spirit of the banker. The latter received the cross of the Legion of Honour in the capacity of a trader, and when the king went to visit the department of the Nord, M. Perier figured in the *fêtes* of Lille and St. Omer. A friendly word broke all at once the indocile passion of the orator, and, during the last three years of Charles X.'s reign, the banker tribune, affecting a chest malady, remained quiet. This neutrality

gave him time to hope that royal favour would give him the direction of affairs. He little knew the renovated court of Versailles and the Œil-de-bœuf. It was only at the time of the Revolution of 1830 that Charles X. remembered Casimir Perier; but it was too late, although the latter was opposed from the 27th to any insurrection and change of flag. When the emissaries of St. Cloud came to propose a new ministry, in which Perier's name figured, a dynasty no longer appeared before the victorious cannon of the people, who were for the moment supreme.

Casimir Perier took a place in the Chamber to get himself called into the ministry. That was the final aim of his opposition. At last, on the 13th of March, 1831, he came forward as a surety and intrepid executor of the system of resistance. He announced the disarming of absolutist Europe, deceived the hope of all nations who were excited to liberty by the Revolution of July, provoked periodical disturbances to suppress the press and parties, wished for peace at any price, and only betrayed and humiliated France.

Casimir Perier could not put up with opposition; he was constantly in a state of assumed irritation; as he spoke with facility, but without decorum and discretion, he persuaded himself that he was eloquent. Later on he persuaded himself that he was a statesman, because men of action, and administrators devoted to the dynastic system, were scarce enough, but when he perceived that he was, like his predecessor, M. de Laffitte, only the tool of unalterable opinion and a company of secret advisers, pressed between the court and opposition parties, he became furious; his speeches were no more than insults, his ministerial eloquence

knew no bounds nor propriety; physical illness combined with his moral malady, and he died more worthy of Charenton than the Pantheon.

At the Chamber he insolently imposed his opinion and seemed to command legislative votes; at one time he stamped on the tribune like an irritated master, at another he threatened the opposition with his fist. One day he appeared at the Chamber with a small hat and grey surtout in caricature of Napoleon at a bivouac. Ridicule did him prompt justice.

In the session of 1832, the deputies of the Left several times called him an insolent person; he never answered them; at other times he was treated as an idiot. He finished by justifying this title, which had been publicly given him at the tribune.

The principal minister of the Revolution of July, he several times declared that he had never either called for or wished it; he abjured it and denied its consequences. He said that the days of July had only been an event, a simple defence of the charter of 1814.

Although he had shut the door of his mansion against the patriots on the 28th of July, saying to them, "*Rabble! your cause will not be decided in the street*," Casimir Perier none the less insolently came to the Hôtel de Ville to claim the price of his patriotism. He refused to sign a noble proclamation of the victorious people, but he had himself decorated.

M. Perier was the greatest enemy of liberal securities; in the name of public order he condemned the National Guard to fire on the people or be disbanded. He had the word *equality* effaced from his flags, on which it had been inscribed since 1789; and, in 1831,

substituted for it the words *public order*, and thus transformed armed civic forces into legions of police or bands of municipal sergeants.

Like everyone who is rich, Casimir Perier was respected at Paris, where wealth and audacity are the essentials of success; but his trivial mind, common diction, jerky phrases, his voice more violent than powerful, and his gestures more insolent than noble, could not make him a courtier; power made all it could of him, a responsible manager.

Perier was not the minister but the trooper of *statu quo*. He was not the clever promoter of general peace but the diplomatic dupe of peace at any cost. Like a simple clerk, he believed in the system of the disarming of military Europe, and he did not believe like a Frenchman in the sovereignty of the people which had been proclaimed in 1789 and 1830. Casimir Perier tried to believe that he had a will like Bonaparte. He displayed only obstinacy; a tenacious will without judgment and imperious without genius is only a political fault and violence of temperament.

He willed and ordered at the same time, but a statesman reasons and acts with deliberation. He had an insatiable thirst for power and influence, but he lacked the science and economy of power.

Casimir Perier was bound to finish up, like all men with a fixed idea, with mental alienation. One must be a fool to want to stop a great and powerful Revolution, that had been started with so much enlightenment and heroism by a nation of thirty-three thousand souls.

Beset with Bonaparte's dominant idea, M. Perier did not understand that the Consul operated on a political corpse and the remains of a worn-out

revolution, whilst the minister was concerned in operating with a nation that had regained its life and strength, and with a new revolution full of hope.

Having been a stranger until fifty years of age to all diplomatic notions and the difficult questions of political science, M. Perier lacked what was necessary for imposing on the diplomatic body and defending himself against the old stagers of the European aristocracy.

Vain rather than suspicious, he did not notice the small secret government which takes all strong wills and established reputations as instruments of violence and deception, abandons them with the same facility as it makes use of them, and leaves them to wear themselves out and get hated in an every-day struggle whilst this small secret government, selfish and hard-hearted, declares itself inviolable and, above all, irresponsible.

On dying, Perier was only missed by his *protégés* and spies. His loss is nothing to France. By it perhaps the opposition lost a violent adversary, who sometimes gave it renewed vigour and opportunity for showing that it had not ceased to exist.

"The strength and courage of this minister supported him to such an extent that he was, or thought he was, master of foreign affairs and the administration of the interior. The history of the secret diplomatic correspondence with M. Laffitte, the President of the Council, made M. Casimir Perier very suspicious. He watched the Tuileries, and by conferring every day with the ambassadors of the principal powers, sending his instructions to London by his eldest son, his despatches to Rome by his second son, and by despatching

his friend, M. Chasson, to Holland and Belgium, he thought he was safe from any surprise. However, in spite of all his precautions, they had secret conferences with the President of the Council and the ambassadors. M. Sebastiani, Minister for Foreign Affairs, held secret correspondence with M. de Talleyrand; the autograph letters, not communicated to the Cabinet Council, addressed to the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance, passed under his seal. Casimir Perier was persuaded that he was an indispensable man, and the only man of his time; and once seated at the top, he was not long in seeing that he had only been taken as a tool to be used, and afterwards thrown into a corner. What a blow for him when he saw in an indubitable way that it had already been calculated in high places pretty nearly how long he could last; and when looking round, the master found his enemies waiting, not without impatience, for their turn to come."

This is what we read in a remarkable article published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on this banker, who thought himself a statesman, doubtless after the manner of the Girondists. Contemporary history shows that it was not only towards M. Laffitte who had succeeded to the Presidency of the Council in 1831, that they acted insincerely at the Tuileries, because they were afraid of his revolutionary tendencies. M. Casimir Perier, who succeeded M. Laffitte, was not more fortunate than he. He complained of it very bitterly on his death-bed, and several of his friends heard it. There was no doubt in anyone's mind on this subject. But this double experience will reform nobody; intriguing and ambitious people cannot in their foolish vanity be persuaded that they are only temporary means,

and that they are only made use of as tools, to be broken if they are bad, thrown into the street if they are incapable, and used if they can serve any purpose.

One day, it is said, M. Casimir Perier asked M. Thiers how one could succeed in domineering France, for the merchant of Dauphiné pretended to be nothing less than Regent of the Kingdom under Louis Philippe of Orleans. It is true this name savours of regency. Two things are sufficient, replied the Provençal to his Excellency: (1) to take away from the Chamber of Deputies the initiative in law which the botched-up charter has given it; and (2) to create a strong hereditary peerage. This last saying struck the official ear.

M. Thiers has few fixed ideas, but he supplements them by a subtle, despotic instinct. He ignores that fundamental principle of all representative government, that the initiative in law belongs of right, and even exclusively, to the Assembly of Representatives, who essentially exercise legislative power, the granting of taxes, and the control of expenses. The *initiative* cannot belong to executive power, which has its share in the royal sanction. In the Constituent Assembly in 1790, Mirabeau would not finish reading a letter from M. de la Luzerne, the Secretary to the Admiralty, who proposed a bill, and he proved that no minister can seize this right, which is exclusively within the jurisdiction of legislative power. In 1791, I myself delivered a speech against the decree proposed by the constitution committee for granting ministers the initiative in proposing a tax. The question was much debated. The Assembly pronounced against the initiative being vested in executive power and ministers, and in spite

of the constitution, the committee ordered my speech to be printed. (It is inserted in the "Encyclopédie Methodique," in the first volume on legislation.)

To institute an aristocracy in face of the *sovereignty of the people* is a contradictory and impossible thing, and to institute an hereditary chamber in presence of popular election is an intolerable privilege and absurd institution. By asking for a strong hereditary chamber, M. Thiers wished undoubtedly for a numerous peerage, richly endowed and provided with privileges. No doubt he wanted to make it a necessary support of monarchical power so as to counteract the legislative power of the Chamber of Representatives. He wanted a peerage to which executive power would give the preference so as to propose his bills to it, and one day do away with national representation, if it resisted the caprice of absolute power.

The ministry of the 13th of March was only a coterie, a secret body, an attempt at despotism, a club of upstarts, an intriguers' plot, and a collection of the hangers-on of power, speculating in the Council as at the Bourse on fictitious rises and falls. It was a quasi-legitimacy, a quasi-government, and a quasi-power, which supported itself by struggles against popular storms, and struggled with brute force against the decrees of opinion. A president, formerly a banker, then a peer, danced every evening on the diplomatic tight-rope, and this political rope-dancer had his ministerial balancing pole as his only counterpoise, with disgrace at one end and popular malediction at the other. This powerful coterie, however, governs thirty-three thousand Frenchmen with as much audacity as blindness; it is charged with watching exclusively

over the destinies of a great nation whose liberties this secret body is ignorant of, and continually wished to misunderstand its rights. Its hypocritical promises and insidious protestations could not produce any other result than disinheriting France of her conquest and future.

Peace at any price, general disarmament, political strength acquired by riots, power founded on cavalry charges in the streets of the capital, police ambuscades against the young patriots of Paris, on the 5th and 6th of June, 1832, and all the movements excited with impunity by the Carlists of La Vendée and the Chouans for two years, these are the symptoms and causes of that mortal malady which the deplorable ministry of the 13th of March, 1831, has experienced since its sad and fatal birth.

It only found shelter in the unpopular and powerless coterie of the *doctrinaires*. The only other remedies or palliatives for its inveterate evils which it found were *statu quo* and that immobility and apathy which is neither government nor anarchy, legality nor despotism, life nor death. It waits every day with forced indifference and hypocrisy for the last blow of the people's hand, or the last efforts of the events which it has prepared or excited by its ineptitude and political misconduct. *Statu quo*, in spite of the cry of the country, the wishes of public opinion and the necessities of the period, became the *ultimatum* of the ministry of the 13th of March. It was its death-bed.

PITT.

He was born in 1759; his father, Lord Chatham, died in 1778. When scarcely 22 years of age, he was elected a Member of Parliament for the borough of Appleby. Soon after he revealed to the House of Commons his great eloquence, powerful logic and profound knowledge of public affairs.

When he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Fox, with whom he was closely allied, demanded the dismissal of Lord Shelburne, which Pitt refused. And from that time there sprang up between these two statesmen a division which nothing could heal, and which the event of the French Revolution of 1789 only embittered in the highest degree.

Pitt made his first appearance as a patriot, for he energetically occupied himself in forwarding the wishes of the parliamentary reform society; but his ministry was that of a true Tory. He overcame the House of Commons, and, finding himself certain of the support of the House of Lords and the king's assent, he performed the bold act of dissolving parliament on the 25th of March, 1784.

The principal object of William Pitt's policy was to extend and preserve for England a great superiority and influence over other nations. His principal means was commercial extension; he governed the English through the cupidity natural to this nation.

His diplomatic method was to act slowly in foreign affairs, and very promptly in home affairs.

He allowed events to help him in his foreign policy; he could wait for them, and above all profit by them.

Mr. Pitt was always jealous of the power of France,

his constant enemy; he could not support the idea that it had frequently given an impulse and direction to European politics. From the time of his entry into the ministry he only concerned himself with the means of worrying, dividing, and enfeebling us, so as to compel us to submit to the influence of England.

Besides, the policy of the French government when it was well directed was to observe the cabinet of St. James' with the most active watchfulness.

The English government never ceased to stir up our troubles during the Revolution, as it had secretly excited those of the Austrian Low Countries. England has always had great means and employed very active agents for this political mischief-making, the expenses of which do not cost her more than the commission of the crimes.

The opposition party, in which Fox developed his eloquence as a statesman, opposed Pitt's warlike system, supported by the Tories. The Empress of Russia, Catherine II., only called him the *minister of preparations*. But in 1795, seeing France a prey to Civil War in the West, which he had stirred up and supported, hoping for a great commotion in France through the intrigues and federalism of the forty departments, Pitt took the initiative and obtained influence in the affairs of the Continent.

He then conceived the European league against our rights and liberties. But it was necessary to subsidise kings to hurl their armies against France. Mr. William Pitt invented the sinking fund to guarantee the enormous loans that his policy necessitated. This *minister of preparations* persuaded the wealthy capitalists of London that there was an easy

way of safely lending vast sums of money to the government, and this way was to borrow and repay the lenders successively. He attained his end, and obtained subsidies payable periodically. But, later on, England reaped the poisoned fruits of this financial invention of Pitt's. An enormous public debt, which would not be covered by the sale of the land of the British Isles—a debt the interest on which absorbs half the annual budget—ceaselessly threatens England with revolution and bankruptcy. These are the results of an impious war that was paid for by a nation which calls itself free.

Napoleon's triumphs allowed Pitt neither rest nor means of aggression. Chagrin undermined his days. He died at forty-seven, after the battle of Austerlitz and the Treaty of Presbourg. Before dying, he called for the Bishop of Lincoln, his former tutor, who proposed to pray with him in his last moments. Pitt consented and exclaimed: "Like many others, I am afraid I have neglected prayer too much, so that my prayers on my death-bed may be efficacious, I trust in the mercy of God."

He afterwards entrusted his papers to his brother and the Bishop of Lincoln, and recommended his nieces, the daughters of Earl Stanhope, to the English nation. He evinced some uneasiness concerning the destiny of his nephews, and expired on the 25th of January, 1806. His remains were deposited at Westminster in spite of Fox's opposition.

William Pitt was fond of power; hypocritically he affected extreme simplicity in his habits and tastes. He became a minister too young, he had not had time to live as a private man and thus experience the action of authority on those who depended on it.

He only cared for the debates of the representative government as a boxer likes contests. He was conscious of clever eloquence, full of subtlety such as is needed for leading the English. He had the ambition of mediocrities, which is to command, and the vanity of men of talent, which is to persuade. He was too fond of irony, sarcasm and imperative language; and he believed too much that arms were necessary in the circumstances with which he was surrounded. He thought he ought to adopt this tone, presumptuous even to insolence, against the great talents and public virtues which distinguished the opposition.

As long as Pitt reigned ministerially, his party taking advantage of his talent and the ingenuity of his speeches, exalted his victories against political Jacobinism, and afterwards against military despotism; but he is none the less dishonoured in the eyes of enlightened Europe and impartial England for making himself the bitter enemy of liberal principles and making war on France against those same principles which he was forced to follow and respect in England. A few excesses, inevitable in all revolutions, and from which England has been still less free than France and the continent, would not become, in the hands of a minister who was virtuous and a friend of liberty, the means or pretexts for attacking a holy cause. It is when we are confronted with the speeches of Pitt and Fox that we see the minister swerve from the noble actions which are attributed to him, attack liberty and the rights of nations, whilst we applaud the eloquent efforts of Fox when he upholds true principles and defends the generous choice of the friends of liberty, devoted friends who for thirty years consigned themselves to the hatred of all aristocracies, and who

are only strong in that great alliance of justice and truth.

In the assembly of the London Municipal Corporation, on the 20th of October, 1826, Mr. Hunt said: "The people of London will never come to a perception of what they owe to their country before the Corporation throws out this statue (showing that of Pitt) to be broken in pieces and made use of as road-metal."

Hunt was astonished at not hearing any sound of disapprobation mingled with the applause. "What!" he exclaimed, "not a hiss? It is the first time I have appeared before this assembly without being greeted with a hiss from some sycophant of the government. The thing appears so astonishing to me that I shall go home and begin to suspect my principles and doubt my identity."

The three marvels of English eloquence are Fox, Pitt, and Burke; all three of quite opposite genius and different eloquence.

Charles Fox is the philosophical and philanthropical orator.

William Pitt is the diplomatic and pitiless orator.

Edmund Burke is the enthusiastic and fanatical orator.

Fox shone in the House of Commons.

Pitt excelled in the secret councils of St. James'.

Burke cast a bright light over polemics.

Fox was fond of the French Revolution as the hope of the human race.

Pitt undermined and corrupted the French Revolution, the great guide of human liberties.

Burke abhorred the French Revolution as being able to expose and overthrow England.

Fox's speeches were the torches of reason.

Pitt's speeches were the deception of Europe.

Burke's speeches were an eloquent convulsion.

From Fox's speeches issued sparks of genius and traits of justice and morality.

Eternal war and a struggle for the extermination of free nations proceeded from Pitt's words.

Cries of servitude and the fires of civil war came from Burke's speeches.

PRIEUR OF THE CÔTE-D'OR.

At the time of the Revolution he was an officer in the engineers of the same rank as the illustrious Carnot, his friend and compatriot. In 1791 the department of the Côte-d'Or elected Prieur as a deputy to the Legislative Assembly; his modesty equalled his ability and hid his merit; but his character for energetic uprightness frequently revealed itself and showed his patriotism, pure, firm, and enlightened; moreover, after the 10th of August, 1792, he was entrusted with the important mission of keeping up the spirit of our armies and maintaining in them the energy so necessary for preventing the invasion of French territory. A soldier and a citizen, Prieur worthily fulfilled his task; he took to the frontier that first sagacious and intrepid glance which some time after was to embrace the whole system of national defence. Elected a member of the National Convention at the end of 1792, Prieur voted dispassionately for the death of Louis XVI. After the troubles occasioned in the bosom of the

Convention by the struggles of the Gironde and the Montagne, he joined through conviction the latter party, and was sent to dissolve the federalist insurgents of Calvados; he wanted to rally men of faction to the country, but failed in it. The conciliatory deputy was misunderstood, arrested and imprisoned, as well as his colleague Romme. It was only after the defeat of the departmental army at Vernon in the month of August, 1793, that the two representatives recovered their liberty.

It was on my proposal that Prieur was elected a member of the Committee of Public Safety as well as Carnot. The two officers, so remarkable on account of their ability and patriotism, had become indispensable to the organization of the armies, the defence of the frontiers, and the principal works of the committee. Prieur had in his department the making of arms, swords, guns and cannons, as well as powder and saltpetre. Europe knows what immense resources he put at the disposal of France. The industrial and military works of Prieur served to supply all the armies under the Directory, the Consulate and the Empire, wealthy ingrates who inherited the forces of the Republic and the immense labours of the Committee of Public Safety! If victory remained faithful to them, it was because Carnot and Prieur had organised it.

Prieur did not cease, however, to take part in political action; moreover, he was attacked with the other members of the committee when the Thermidoriens attained power and replaced the former government with furious, ignorant reactionists like Barras, Tallien, &c. The only thing which the reactionist members of the National Convention did not dare

to do, after having deprived France of so much experience and talent which was so indispensable to the defence of the country, was to include Prieur and Carnot in the banishment of the 12th of Germinal, year III.

It was not that the proposal had not been made. In the tumultuous sittings of the conventional reaction, Merlin (of Thionville), Tallien, Fréron, Bourdon (of the Oise), and Legendre (of Paris), continually asked for the arrest of Prieur and Carnot; but the desire of these fanatics of Coblentz was repelled, and Prieur was respected as the noble and learned companion of Carnot.

Unmoved amid these passionate agitations, and seeing only the great end of the Revolution, the progress of the human mind, and through it the progress of liberty, Prieur conceived, with Carnot, the project of founding a Polytechnic School which Europe would one day admire and imitate as a model scientific institution. Prieur also occupied himself in establishing the National Institute with Lakanal, which was founded in the last days of the Convention. In the journal of the Polytechnic School, and in the "Annales de Chimie," the greater part of the reports, instructions, and memoirs of Prieur are to be found.

After the dissolution of the Convention, at the end of 1795, Prieur was elected a member of the Council of Five Hundred, and then concerned himself with the system of weights and measures. From 1790 he had published memorials on the necessity and means of making measures of length and weight uniform throughout France, an original idea dictated by the same mind which had demanded the abolition of the

various customs of France in all the books of bailiwicks and seneschal's courts that were addressed to the States-General. It had become one of the nation's needs, and even a necessity of the time. In 1795 Prieur composed an instruction on decimal notation; he made a report to establish in a definite manner that uniformity of weights and measures which prevailed over legislative reaction, and which will doubtless end by also prevailing over the manners and usages of France, in spite of routine and old habits.

Having left the Council of Five Hundred in 1798, Prieur, who was still in the prime of life, was upset in his work, feelings and entire life by the 18th of Brumaire. He appeared to look with a melancholy eye, and afterwards disgust, on the new course of public affairs. Political power was not in the hands of the nation. The *place mania* had usurped and corrupted everything. Prieur was deeply affected by it, and from that time he resolved not to accept any public office; he took to the study of the natural sciences, and above all to chemistry, which furnished him with immense resources for the defence of his country. Prieur established a manufacture of stained paper, the colours of which were so artistic that they obtained so complete a success as to make the fortune of his establishment. Prieur terminated his career almost suddenly at Dijon in September, 1832. (He was born at Auxonne in 1763.)

He possessed that sweet philosophy which always hopes, and is right in hoping, for the progress of the human mind. Providence has not given men ideas and voices as worthless gifts, but to communicate with their fellows and help them, to forward noble researches

of intelligence and courageous efforts of work and industry.

In science Prieur was really a man of diligence and accomplishment, and also a great practitioner in all branches of politics. He died in the midst of uninterrupted labours, and heaved his last sigh in the arms of friendship. The friends of liberty and science hope that his successor (M. Monet, a notary of Dijon), as distinguished for his knowledge as for the purity of his political character, will not deprive the country of the useful, scientific and political materials which Prieur prepared during his laborious life.

RŒDERER.

After the revolution of the parliaments, Rœderer, who was a councillor in that of Metz, appeared greatly magnified, and joined the revolutionists of 1789. A member of the Constituent Assembly, he there made patriotic motions, and belonged to the small number of deputies who opposed the fatal revision of the constitutional laws.

During the Legislative Assembly, having become chief magistrate for the department of the Seine, Rœderer figured at the tribune of the Faubourg Society, and made himself such a reputation among the Jacobins that artists placed his profile in the same medallion with those of Robespierre and Marat.

He joined Brissot and his adherents in the sittings of the Jacobins, in which the proposal of declaring war against Austria was debated, a proposition which Robespierre had the patriotism to oppose with most energetic eloquence.

During the 9th and 10th of August, 1792, Rœderer did not leave the castle of the Tuileries, where he appeared to direct and stir up the armed force of Swiss and Royalists.

He even went so far as to proclaim martial law and accompany Louis XVI. during the review he made of the Swiss in the courtyard of the Tuileries. The deputy Chabot, having penetrated as far in as the castle, frightened Rœderer so much, that the latter hastened to bring the king and his family to the Legislative Assembly. But as soon as Rœderer had reached the entrance of the hall, he escaped by the terrace des Feuillants, and abandoning his *protégés*, went and hid in the village of Pecq, near St. Germain, in the house of Rousseau de Talonne, a Paris banker, to whom he was related.[1]

During the Hundred Days, Rœderer was Napoleon's commissary extraordinary, and wrote to M. Frochot, prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhône, an instruction on the police to be carried out in his prefecture and principally at Marseilles. In it the clever professor of corruption and immorality shows himself; the commissioners of the Holy Inquisition never prescribed anything more inquisitorial, perverse, and fatal for society than the police ways ordered by Count Rœderer, a senator in the senatorship. Nobody has brought to light with more immodesty the inexhaustible resources of tyrants through proxy.

---

[1] M. Decrétot, my former friend and colleague in the Constituent Assembly, was M. Rœderer's brother-in-law; he came and told me that the latter had just escaped a great danger and was now at Rousseau de Talonne's house. "So much the better," I replied, "I have already forgotten what you have just told me." Rœderer was not hunted down.

M. Rœderer remained for a long time in hiding during the Revolution, but he was employed in composing a satirical discourse on the Reign of Terror, which he accused many persons of regarding as useful, in certain circumstances, to the art of governing. He sent this reactionary tract to an editor of the newspaper, *Le Republicain*, named Charles, who went to read it at Madame Tallien's house before a crowd of Thermidorien reactionists. Tallien got hold of this writing and read it as his work at the Convention. M. Rœderer later on joined in the intrigue of Sieyès, Talleyrand, Thibaudan, Marat and associates to celebrate the 18th of Brumaire with the victorious sword of General Bonaparte; he was rewarded with rich gifts.

When the gouty despot, Louis XVIII., came with the Cossacks, M. Rœderer constituted himself his kind counsellor; he proposed a system of banishments, trimmed up his discourse on the reign of terror, and sent it to the king of the Restoration. At the time of August, 1830, when the July days had made Philip of Orleans king, M. Rœderer composed his "Esprit de la Révolution" for this prince's use, and he did not fail to insert his "Discours Satirique sur la Terreur" in it. Such is M. Rœderer at all the periods of his political life.

SAINT-JUST.

I can speak out of Saint-Just and his genius. I am not suspected, I have denounced his ambitions.

He was scarcely seventeen years old when the people in France were excited over the arrest of Car-

dinal de Rohan on the occasion of the scandalous affair of the necklace. The young poet felt his fancy inflamed with indignation on hearing the story of the looseness of the manners and the anecdotes of the court of Marie Antoinette. At that age a feeling of propriety does not always guide an ardent mind. Scarcely had he left college than Saint-Just composed a poem in eight cantos on the history of the diamond necklace. It was printed under the title of "Organ."[1]

Scarcely had this satirical poem appeared than a ministerial order was issued ordering a search for the author to put him in the Bastille. Saint-Just was denounced and pursued into Picardy, where he lived, but he came and hid at Paris with a merchant of his country named M. Dupey, and stayed there until the time of the States-General. The 14th of July, 1789, by demolishing the Bastille, put an end to his embarrassment. He was afterwards among the electors, and at the age of scarcely twenty-five years he was elected a member of the National Convention.

Saint-Just was twenty-one years old when the Revolution commenced. In 1790 he published a volume on the Revolution, and this work was distinguished by the enlightened politics of the Constituent Assembly. The edition was exhausted in a few days.

The cannon of the 10th of August had just overturned the throne when the department of the Aisne elected Saint-Just as its deputy to the National Convention. He had only just reached the legal age.

---

[1] The poem "Organ" has become very rare. M. Mauclerc, an old usher who died at Paris a few years ago, had preserved a copy of it. M. Dannon had been Saint-Just's professor. He can recollect his poem, which caused great excitement at the time.

At the time of the King's trial Saint-Just delivered a remarkable speech with his energetic laconicism. "I vote," he said, "for his condemnation, not because he has been a traitor and conspirator, but because he is King."

His opinions against the first constitutional plan which Condorcet presented to the National Convention were marked with the stamp of the greatest rigour of principle.

Several of his reports, among others that on the *foreign party*, are full of great and noble truths. This is what so often makes him say *that during the war the reformation of the laws must be suspended, to avoid the danger of intrigues and foreign influences.*

Saint-Just possessed rare talent and ungovernable pride. He only spoke of the Republic, and he was habitually despotic.

If he had lived in the time of the Greek republics he would have been a Spartan. His *fragments* show that he would have chosen the institutions of Lycurgus; he had the fate of Agis and Cleomenes.

If he had been born a Roman he would have made revolutions like Marius, but he would never have oppressed like Sulla. He hated the nobility as much as he liked the people.

His manner of liking doubtless does not suit his country, his age, or his contemporaries, since he is dead; but he at least left France and the eighteenth century a strong trace of talent, character, and republicanism.

His style was laconic; his character austere, and his political morals severe; what success could he expect?

What distinguishes Saint-Just's mind is audacity. It was he who first said the secret of the Revolution was in the word *dare*, and he dared.

It was he who said that rest for the revolutionists was in the tomb, and he was engulfed in one at the age of *twenty-seven!*

He had read Tacitus and Montesquieu extensively, those two men of genius who always abridged everything because they saw everything. He had become possessed of their sharp, concise, and epigrammatic style; he sometimes had the strong, incisive, and profound manner of these two political writers.

It is said of his reports in the National Convention, *that they spoke like an axe*—a terrible allusion to the decrees of accusation against the representatives of the people, decrees which terminated a part of these reports. However, it is in his fragments that this law project is found: "If a deputy of the people is condemned, he ought to choose an exile outside Europe, so as to spare the people the picture of the punishment of one of its representatives."

Being sent on a mission to the armies, he took in public documents the title of Representative extraordinary with the army of Sambre-et-Meuse, or with the army of the Moselle.

He took part in the battle of Fleurus, and on his return to Paris he obstinately refused to make a report of it to the National Convention.

In the animated debates which took place at Strasbourg between the general officers and Le Bas, his colleague on a mission to the armies, he allayed the heat of the dispute by saying: "Calm yourself, Le Bas, rule is for the phlegmatic."

On reading the severity of these military institutions, it will be remembered that he would never make a report on the armies. Was it that he feared their influence on liberty or that he could not suffer a kind of glory which was not his own? It is not known. What is certain is that on the evening when the courier from the army of the Sambre-et-Meuse brought news of the taking of Antwerp, Saint-Just said to me on retiring, "Do not puff the victories so much." "Why not?" said I. "Have you never feared the armies?" "No, never, when civil power can govern well." And on the following day I commenced my report with the phrase, "Unhappy is the day when the victories of our armies are coldly related or feebly applauded in this place!"

Saint-Just had a keen mind for principles, but his judgment of men was but slightly formed. Would it be believed that, being called to the Rhine to organise the execution of combined plans of campaign with the generals of the army of the Rhine and that of the Moselle, he preferred Pichegru to Hoche? Moreover, he persecuted the latter, who had conquered the Prussians alone and delivered Landau. Saint-Just was offended because one day Hoche would not communicate to the representative of the people the military measures which he was about to take. If Saint-Just had reasons for believing his authority outraged, Hoche also had reasons for being afraid of indiscretions which had already been bad for the army.

Saint-Just occupied himself a great deal with military affairs. We give here a copy of a manuscript of his which was found on the 9th of Thermidor in his office in the Committee of Public Safety. It

was a small volume bound in red morocco, with the date 1793.

On the first page these two lines were written in pencil:

"Il voit le cœur humain et cherche son esprit,
L'amour est la recherche du bonheur."

At the end of the volume this maxim of government was to be read, which Saint-Just had doubtless drawn up for the benefit of the so-called Jacobin Society to free himself from their demands for places and offices:

"No member of the Society is to fill a public office unless he is elected thereto by the people."

1793. MILITARY NOTES.

Strength of the Armies on the 15th of July.

	MEN.
The Northern	92,000
The Ardennes	16,000
The Moselle	83,000
The Rhine	100,000
The Alps	32,000
The Italian	26,000
Eastern Pyrenees	32,000
Western Pyrenees	20,000
Rochelle Coast	53,000
Brest Coast	15,000
Cherbourg Coast	10,000
Total	479,000

Army on the Brest Coast.

On the 30th of June, the rebels of La Vendée were put to flight by General Canclaux. They had attacked at four points and been repulsed. The attack lasted from two o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night.

On the 2nd of July, General Canclaux writes from Nantes that communication had been established between that town and Vannes and Rennes.

Army of the Alps and Italy.

In a letter of the 16th of July, Kellermann complains of the weakness of the armies which he commands.

The strength of the army of the Alps is 23,000 men at most, including the new battalions and garrisons.

That of the Italian army amounts to 30,000 men. The enemy's army numbers 50,000 regular and available troops, of which 6,000 are cavalry and 3,000 militia.

Army on the Rochelle Coast.

On the 18th of July, General Ronsin attacked the rebels near Martigny and they were put to flight in spite of the evil-minded persons who cried out that the battle was lost.[1]

Chamboran's Hussars.

On the 16th of July, the Minister for War writes that far from having done nothing to maintain the corps of Chamboran's Hussars, he had put 11,000 francs at his disposal in less than three months, and had given orders for them to be furnished successively with 500 horses.

Forage for Metz.

On the 18th of July, the Minister for War sent word that the town of Metz and the army of the Moselle

[1] *Note by Barère.*—The Commune of Paris, who had sold themselves to the foreigner, sent spies and traitors to the republican army in La Vendée who were charged to cry out "Sauve qui peut!" to alarm the troops.

were about to receive a relief of 12,000 hundredweight of grain or flour, of which 8,000 was on its way.

Cambrai.—On the 13th of July, there existed chiefly at the fortress of Cambrai:

63	cannon.
17	mortars.
42,868	cannon-balls.
18,081	bomb-shells.
1,801	shells.
21,267	grenades.
4,400	sacks of earth.
499,700	infantry cartridges.
198,500	lbs. of gunpowder.

Army of the Eastern Pyrenees.

General Flers sends word on the 15th of July that on the 13th of the same month, the enemy's army, composed of 6,000 cavalry and from 16,000 to 18,000 infantry, attacked the advance guard of his army, which advanced on its entrenchments in good order. During the morning the advance guard was fired at and cannonaded; towards the middle of the day the two armies fired more than fifty cannon-shots at random. We had six men killed or wounded, and the enemy's loss was greater.

It wanted to draw our army out on the open, but the general would not leave the camp of Malros, where he was entrenched awaiting reinforcements. His army numbered about 23,000 men.

The 16th of July.

The same general complains that the representatives of the people at Toulouse have stopped troops which were destined for him.

Army of the Alps and Italy.

It appears from a despatch of General Kellermann, dated the 18th of July, that Italy calculates our successes and reverses before showing itself favourable or otherwise to the French Republic. He shows that we ought to deal blows in Piedmont, and even in Milan.[1] He sends many observations on this subject and declares that he is awaiting orders and asserts his zeal.

Army of the North.

	MEN.
Effective	53,603
In hospital	8,063
Detached	4,632
On leave or furlough	264
In prison	356
Present under arms	48,288
Horses	12,607

Army of the North (22nd of July).

On sending the list of discharges, which he delivered daily, the National War Commissioner, Roland, asks the Committee of Public Safety to give him the means for making the communes replace the men which he sends them.[2]

---

[1] *Note by Barère.*—Such was the military plan followed and successfully carried out by General Bonaparte in 1796 and 1797, in seizing Piedmont and marching on Milan. It is probable that Bonaparte was acquainted at the Executive Directory with all General Kellermann's correspondence, his predecessor in the army of the Alps and Italy.

[2] See the laws relating to conscription and replacements, made under the Consulate and Empire, and you will say that the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention never employed coercive means, fiscal penalties, or public violence as Napoleon constantly did.

Army of the Eastern Pyrenees.

On the 14th of July, General Flers announced that the municipality of Lyons had stopped pieces of artillery and cannon which were destined for his army. He asked for artillerymen, and all the infantry and cavalry that could be spared, his army only comprising from 12,000 to 13,000 men, 50 pieces of cannon and 3 howitzers.

Fortress of Philippeville.

General Wisch, commanding this place, praised the garrison. He stated that he would sooner be buried under the ruins of that place than surrender it.

Fortress of Lille.

General Favart wrote from Lille that the 8,000 quarters of grain sent to him from Dunkirk are of the very worst quality,[1] and that out of 2,929 quarters received since the 29th of June, 841 quarters were unfit to be used for making bread. He declares that he was obliged to throw away at least 12,000 quarters of flour and 12,000 quarters of corn.

---

[1] The fortress of Lille was always the object of the enemy's ambition, and even of General Dumouriez, who served the enemy more than the republic. It was on the 15th of March, 1793, that Dumouriez, who got beaten at Neerwinden, threw his army back on Lille to get possession of this great arsenal. In the month of July following, the royalists employed in provisioning the fortresses and armies sent damaged grain to Lille, and in such small quantities that they hoped thus to starve or poison the garrison.

Statement of the Forces in the Spanish Army, 13th of July.

General d'Elberg thinks that this account is not exact, and that it should be reduced by a half.

	MEN.
Catalonians	30,000
Aragonese	10,000
Navarrese	12,000
Basques	20,000
Militia	40,000
Troops of the line and cavalry	49,000
Total	161,000

Fortress of Lille.

Request made on the 25th of July by General Lamarlière to General Favart, commanding Lille, for 4,000 men to defend La Marque and the suburb of the sick.

Refusal of General Favart, who declares that far from withdrawing troops from that place the garrison ought to be completed.

Account of the Fortress of Lille.

	MEN.
Infantry	2,223
Cavalry	482
Artillery	864
Engineers	24
Total	3,593

The garrison should be 4,000 men.

General Leveneur has been asked by Custines to command the army of the Ardennes with General Stengel to serve under him.

Army of La Vendée.

The artillery officers of the first battalion of Paris denounce General Boutard; they accuse him of being careless and of dangerous and suspicious lukewarmness.

General Officers.

Notes given on the 25th of July by General Lacuée on the *personnel* of some officers:—Fontenilles, adjutant-general, a good officer and patriot; Dubreuil, *idem*, good for an office; Duvigneau, brigadier-general, incapable of serving through infirmity.

Fortress of Cambrai.

This place materially stands in need of:

6 howitzers.
pieces of ordnance.
pioneers' tools.
gun carriages of all sizes.
505,708 pounds of powder.
364,000 pounds of shot.

The general complains that his demands up to now have been fruitless.

Bâle.

A letter of the 21st of July announces that the Austrians have threatened Huningue with a camp of 2,000 men. Information obtained:—It is found that there were not more than 1,000 men in this party.

Personnel of General Officers.

On the 2nd of August citizen Audouet, a volunteer from Paris, lodged information concerning Brigadier-General d'Utruy. He regards him as an intriguer and an evil-disposed person, having done nothing for

the Revolution. He was formerly a porter of a gaming-house, and had written several libels against the National Guard.

Fortress of Douai.

The republican society of Douai writes on the 25th of July that Douai is on the point of being blockaded, that there are only sufficient provisions for a week, and that the commissioners of the Convention do not understand the circumstances.

Letter from citizen Aubry, a deputy.

PARIS, *August 6th.*

In the conference which we had last night in the military committee you evinced a desire, citizen, to know the account of what ought to be a sufficient provision of victuals for a place such as Lille, which is defended by a garrison of 12,000 men, in which I include 600 cavalry and 600 artillery. The following is my calculation, estimated according to the instructions given in our artillery schools.

I provision the place for three months, and I suppose the inhabitants have enough for six months.

Approximate Account of Supplies of Food for a besieged stronghold holding a garrison of 12,000 men.

Sacks of flour . . .	6,800	
Allowances of biscuits for urgent and unforeseen needs	134,000	pounds
Bullocks or cows . . .	400	
Sheep	800	
Bacon	66,000	pounds
Rice	2,600	,,

Oatmeal and barley	140	sacks
Peas, haricots, beans, lentils	266	,,
Cheese	132,000	pounds
Salt butter	8,000	,,
Bushels of salt	1,600	
Baskets of eggs	132	
Casks of spices	2	
Hogsheads of wine	400	
Tuns of beer	1,400	
Puncheons of brandy	80	
Hogsheads of vinegar	14	
Puncheons of olive oil	8	
Handmills	40	
Tobacco	24,000	pounds
Earthenware vessels	264	
Iron-hooped tubs	264	
Small barrels for distributing	1,400	
Wooden platters	5,400	
Earthenware pitchers	1,500	
Kettles for cooking	14	

Wood for the Troops and the requirements of the place.

Fagots	80,000
Bundles of large wood	80,000
Allowances of hay and straw	80,000
Rations of oats	80,000
Utensils for 6 or 7 ovens	

Observations.

A ration ought to weigh 24 ounces. A loaf of 2 rations ought to weigh 3 lb., for which 58 oz. of dough are required, because bread loses 4 oz. per ration in cooking. A sack of flour of 200 lb. gives 180 rations; thus 600 sacks will give 1,080,000 rations, which will be sufficient bread for 12,000 men, allowing each 90 rations. If we add 2,000 sacks of flour, we shall have 26,000 rations more for the officers, their servants and the hospitals.

Although the garrison may decrease, this allowance is required, because double the amount of bread is given at the end of the siege to the rest of the garrison, which is then worn out.

From the commencement of the siege, a bullock and two sheep are given to each battalion, which furnishes a pound and a half of meat for each soldier for his nourishment for three days. For the two following days he is given half a pound of bacon or salt beef, and sometimes a quarter of a pound of cheese and vegetables.

The meat ought to be kept fresh as long as possible for the hospitals. This interesting part should be provided with milk, sufficient medicine, &c.

Weissembourg.

On the 3rd of August, the members of the Committee of Public Safety of this town announce that the flour in the stores established at Petite-Pierre is dwindling, and the salt meat failing.

Paris.

August 3rd.—The administrators of the department of the North, on a deputation to Paris, demand that the Committee of Public Safety should have an account rendered of the garrison of Douai, which has been neglected by Custines, and send muskets to it as well as to Cambrai.

Saint-Quentin.

August 3rd.—The members of the commune of this place complain that the requests for cannon and ammunition which they have made to the Minister for

War have been unavailing. They observe that they will be forced to die like cowards unless their demands are attended to.

Rouen.

August 4th.—The commune of Rouen writes that it is in great want of supplies, and that Soissons is keeping back a barge loaded with corn belonging to it. It asks for relief.

Army of the North.

August 3rd.—Strength of this army: 38,338 available men and 11,586 horses.

Cannon-balls at Evreux.

On the 6th of August there existed in the foundries of Conches, Labonneville, and Evreux: At Evreux, 18,722 cannon-balls of 4, 8, 18, and 24 pounders; at Conches, 15,002 cannon-balls of 4, 8, and 12 pounders; at Labonneville, 6,994 cannon-balls of 4 and 8 pounders.

Fortress of Grenoble.

State of this place on the 4th of August: Present under arms, 674 men.

Army of the Alps.

State of the division under the orders of General Dubourg on the 30th of July: Present under arms, 4,528 men; pieces of ordnance, 30.

Landau.

July 28th.—Citizen Dubois, an artilleryman of Landau, made various statements concerning this place:

1. The generals have left the garrison in culpable inaction.

2. Landau is absolutely in want of food, and is badly provided with artillery stores.

3. The generals at the head of the army are traitorous, incapable, and careless men.

4. The administrations are badly arranged.

5. The place is blockaded.

6. Beauharnais is to be distrusted; he has, like Dumouriez, a printing establishment in his retinue.

7. In the different regulated attacks, attacks had to be made with inferior numbers.

8. On the 27th a trumpet sounded to surrender; the general replied that he would answer with cannon-shot.

9. The garrison has sworn to die rather than surrender.

Peronne.

July 29th.—Citizen Deudon, an elector of the department of the Somme, remarks that the enemy are appearing in all parts, that their numbers frighten the soldiers, that the generals do not animate the troops, and that the promptest measures are necessary.

Weissembourg.

July 22nd.—The Committee of Public Safety of this town announces that it requires 17,023 bushels of oats for the provision stores.

Rouen.

August 1st.—An old soldier makes observations on the actual state of the republic, the results of which are: First, that the departmental administrations are full of intriguing, incapable and faint-hearted men.

Secondly, that the Minister for War should be looked after, as he does not employ the forces at his disposal.

Paris.

August 2nd.—The Cordeliers club declares itself the protector of Bouchotte, Minister for War; it asks that he shall be retained in his office.

Consumption of Bullocks each year.

700,000 men on foot . .	246,300 bullocks
Fortresses which are, or may be, in a state of siege .	30,000
Stationary or ambulance hospitals	14,600
Marine	30,000
Interior	16,000
Total .	336,900 bullocks

There only remains one way for provisioning the republic.

Switzerland, Hamburg and the Hanseatic towns being the only places from which cattle can be got, bills at sight must be negotiated on the market at Amsterdam, in Switzerland, etc., for a sum equal to the purchase France requires, and the beasts must be sent for immediately in exchange for these bills in all these places.

Army of the North.

Strength of this army.

From the 3rd of August, 39,233 men present under arms, and 13,723 horses.

Army on the Coasts of Brest.

From the 2nd of August there were under arms 23,590 men, and 955 horses fit for service.

SIEYÈS.

He was in politics what a doctor of the Sorbonne is in theology, a subtle arguer and obscure theorist; also a profound observer, taciturn thinker and proud spirit. "I will not talk to you because you do not understand me," he often said. One day he even addressed these not very modest words to his colleagues of the Executive Directory.

He made a political reputation by his celebrated work, "Qu'est ce que le Tiers État?" The success of this work arises from the spirit of nationality which inspired it in an age when there was not yet a nation in France, but only thousands of Frenchmen vegetating under an absolute monarchy and an insolent and exclusive aristocracy.

In his political studies, Sieyès was not able to go further than monarchy. To his sacerdotal though exalted mind, it was the pillars of Hercules. During the Legislative Assembly, there began, in the *Moniteur*, a polemic between the American Thomas Payne and the Abbé Sieyès. It may be remembered with what obstinacy Sieyès upheld monarchical government as the only one suitable to the French character. As a free publicist, Thomas Payne presented the advantages of republican government.

By his constant silence at the Convention, Sieyès disapproved of the Republic and secretly guided the Girondist party to resistance.

He never exposed himself personally; he exercised a secret influence and gave secret counsels. That is why Robespierre called him "the cunning fox of the Revolution."

In fact, he raised the earth and became impregnable. It was thus he escaped the revolutionary action of the republic against which he secretly plotted.

He preferred secret government; he wanted to direct affairs without appearing to do so.

When the vital question of the Liberty of the Press was discussed, Mirabeau wanted to disturb the repose of the abbé; and in order to get him to take part in the debates he exclaimed, "M. Sieyès' silence is a public calamity."

Some days after, some young deputies conversing with Mirabeau reproached him for this flattery. Mirabeau laughingly replied, "Leave me alone. I have established such a reputation for the Abbé Sieyès that he will not be able to get rid of it."

During the Legislative Assembly, Sieyès allied himself intimately with the deputies of the Gironde who distinguished themselves at the tribune by their patriotism and eloquence. But they had to struggle against a majority strongly disposed to second Louis XVI. in his secret relations with foreign powers. It was Sieyès who, at the time war was declared against the Emperor of Austria in the name of France, inspired the Girondists with the idea of forming a committee of general defence which should enact on the requirements of the army and politics. Although not a member of the Legislative Assembly, Sieyès was the soul of this committee, which became very influential in public affairs.

The events of the 10th of August surprised all forecasts. The Girondist party, until then a powerless minority, was obliged to pronounce for the overthrow of the king and the calling of a National Convention.

Sieyès was elected a member of this assembly; he voted with it for the establishment of the Republic, neither the form nor principles of which he liked, and he continued to direct secretly the Girondists, who were outnumbered in their tribunal ambition by a great number of new deputies.

Soon two parties appeared in the Convention, and there was constant division, open struggling, and mutual attacks and accusations. Sieyès was observant; he advised the Girondists, but did not appear. Nature, in giving him a great faculty for thinking, had not endowed him with the art of speaking; he never mounted the tribune, but he sent his orators there. That is why the authors of this violent measure could not get at him on the 31st of May. All his Girondist friends were arrested; he alone remained standing amid the ruins of his party. He regularly attended the sittings of the Convention, but never spoke. This obstinate silence made him appear suspicious to Robespierre, who was only concerned with the *personnel* of the Revolution. One day, at the commencement of the year 1794, Robespierre came to the Committee of Public Safety very late with Saint-Just, and he denounced Sieyès as the secret agent of the dissensions which had disturbed the Convention, and which, skilfully fomented, were still troubling it; it was in these circumstances that he called him "the cunning fox of the Revolution," turning up the ground and disappearing. The Committee asked Robespierre if he had any positive facts to announce, as otherwise no deputy would be sheltered from these arbitrary denunciations. Robespierre only being able to give his instinct in proof of the accusa-

tion, the Committee passed to the order of the day, and Sieyès was saved from the most dangerous attack. He became still more mysterious, reserving himself for a better occasion, which presented itself after the 9th of Thermidor.

Sieyès breathed freely, and only busied himself with the means for avenging himself for the fright he had undergone; he inspired the denunciation launched against the committees of the government, a denunciation which the Thermidoriens welcomed in order to get hold of the executive power. It was the only way of executing the long-meditated anti-revolutionary plan which had for its principal agents Tallien, Barras, and Fréron. The king had sent emigrant commissioners to them at Paris from Coblentz, who did not leave these three representatives for a moment.

Sieyès made use of the gloomy influence of the reactionists without thinking like them, for he had nothing to hope for from the princes for whom the anti-revolutionists manœuvred at the Convention.

The denunciation of Lecointre once admitted, Sieyès had a commission nominated, called the Twenty-one, to examine if there was ground for the accusation against the members of the two former committees. Chenier, Saladin, Curtois, and other strongly pronounced reactionists, were placed on this commission; Sieyès became President of the state inquisition, and four representatives were sent by it before the National Convention. The defence of the accused having been received with applause in the first sittings, Sieyès trembled at seeing his victims escape. He conceived a decree which placed a tocsin on the pavilion of the Tuileries, destined, in case of riot or insurrection, to

call the forty-eight armed sections to the aid of the Convention. Fréron and Tallien were charged with provoking the required riot, and Barras with preparing the staff of the reaction. The insurrection took place on the 12th of Germinal, and immediately the reactionary Convention made it a pretext for stopping the debate and defence of the accused, and arbitrarily pronounce their transportation to Guiana. General Pichegru, who had sold himself to the Bourbons, was appointed chief of the armed force in Paris, and was charged with the execution of the sentence of transportation.

Sieyès, however, only derived an ephemeral credit from these manœuvres; other anti-revolutionay ambitions surpassed his, and when it was a question of making a new constitution his plans were opposed; the word *executive* only remained of those who served to place on republican territory five landmarks towards the old monarchy. To complete this absurd institution of the five kings, the reactionists took care to place Barras among them, who was connected with Louis XVIII. Sieyès, not wishing to support the walls of the new directoral edifice, refused to enter it. He got himself sent as ambassador to Berlin, and only returned to France in 1799, at a time when the Directory, hated and distrusted, had hastened its own fall. Then they talked of making some changes in the constitution of the year III. to appease public opinion. When the directors consulted on this subject, Sieyès, now their colleague, dryly replied, "I cannot talk to you and tell you my ideas—you would not understand me." As a matter of fact, Sieyès had other views than the preservation of the Executive Directory; he meditated its over-

throw and he expected the success of his enterprise all the more, as being a director himself, he would not be suspected; he only wanted a leader for his *coup d'état*. After the death of General Joubert, he inclined towards Moreau, when chance and ambition brought General Bonaparte from Alexandria.

The 18th of Brumaire, which was organised by Sieyès, and delivered over to Bonaparte for execution for a moment, met with obstacles in the resistance of the Council of Five Hundred. The general was frightened by the cries of "Outlaw," and suddenly left the bar of the Council and withdrew to Sieyès and his associates in the stables of Saint-Cloud. "They have demanded my outlawry in my presence," he exclaimed. Sieyès replied with his sacerdotal coldness, "They have put you outside the law; put them outside the hall," which was soon done by his soldiers at the double.

Three provisionary consuls had to be appointed. Bonaparte was the first, Sieyès the second, and Roger Ducos the third; a commission held in the intrigues of the Council of the *Anciens* were charged with drawing up a new constitution; Sieyès was in his element there. He thought he could dominate minds and divert wills, and proposed to institute a grand elector, a sovereign of elections, to be able to absorb high functionaries and even the consuls by placing them in the senate. But General Bonaparte was not easy to absorb. He saw the aim of the constituent abbé, and struck out this article as insulting to the highest dignity of the state. The consulate was exempted, and Sieyès alone remained absorbed. When constitutional consuls had to be appointed, Bonaparte wrote these words with the point of

his sword: The constitution nominates Bonaparte first consul, Cambacérès second consul, and Le Brun third consul. Thus was baffled the secret ambition for power which had long tormented Sieyès. He consoled himself with his senatorship, the greater part of the cash of the Executive Directory, the state residence in the Rue Choiseul, the menagerie of Versailles, with the territory of Rosne, the title of Count, two hundred thousand francs a year, and a fine residence at Paris in the Faubourg St. Honoré.

When Napoleon returned from the Isle of Elba in March, 1815, public enthusiasm was at its highest. Walking to the Tuileries on the 22nd of March, I met Sieyès on the terrace at the water's edge, where we were deafened by the acclamations of the troops whom Napoleon was reviewing in the Carrousel. "Listen to the shouts," I said to him, "they are the expression of public opinion." "Yes, doubtless, but what can one count on with this man who is everlastingly revolutionising himself?" replied Sieyès. I saw clearly that he had not very great confidence in new events. Unhappily he had tact and was a prophet.

Napoleon raised Sieyès to the peerage, but it was only for a brilliant and short period.

The Bourbon amnesty came on the 12th of January, 1816. To Louis XVIII. pardoning was exiling and banishing.

Sieyès was obliged, like the ex-members of the National Convention whom he had himself banished on the 12th of Germinal and 18th of Prairial, to take refuge at Brussels. He bought a house there near the park and extensive farms near Namur. He lived there quietly, and had time to reflect on the iniquities

of power, the instability of political grandeur, and the vanity of human wishes. Having returned to Paris after the revolution of 1830, he died there on the 24th of June, 1836.

It is an historical error, propagated by some young writers, that Sieyès drew up the constitutions for the National Assembly and the National Convention. Outside the National Assembly and before the States-General, Sieyès only wrote his excellent work, "What is the Tiers-État?" After the sitting of the 4th of August, 1789, Sieyès, who saw with disappointment the abolition of the tithes of which the revenue of his abbey was composed, wrote a bitter pamphlet with this insolent and false epigraph: "They wish to be free and they cannot be just."

Sieyès having heard Mirabeau reproach him at the tribune on his silence concerning the Liberty of the Press, drew up a bill for the organisation and exercise of this right, but his bill, which was printed and distributed in the Assembly, appeared so complicated and impracticable that no one paid any attention to it.

When the constitution committee prepared its work, Sieyès, who was not a member of the committee, was not even consulted; he had a much too eccentric idea of the desires and needs of the nation. He kept silent and allowed the constitution to be given up to general discussion.

Later on, Sieyès prevailed with his pentarchical plan of government; he invented the Executive Directorate and royalty with five heads as an open way to monarchy; he was influential in establishing two councils or chambers to create an aristocracy; but always hating the democracy and the government of majorities.

When he was second provisional consul he tried to introduce a grand elector into the new constitution, an eminent dignitary to be charged with choosing all public functionaries. He proposed also to give the grand elector the right of absorbing the consuls by placing them in the senate; but Bonaparte rejected these two institutions, and very soon dismissed the author himself, whom at this time he only called the high priest.

Indeed, Sieyès had many points of resemblance to the priests of antiquity.

He was not a statesman, he was a doctor of politics. He had all the faults of an absolute mind and all the pride of a *savant;* he regarded the mass of the nation as bound alone to obey the law, its interests, and wishes; he made no difference between monarchy and republic except in the character and number of the magistrates. He gave his own ideas such a close connection that it was necessary to break this strict connection of his arguments to combat him; for he had a mind hard to please and so intolerant that it was necessary to give up discussing with him or submit to his absolute maxims. He endured no amendments to his systems or explanation of his obscurities; he was self-concentrated, unless a strong personal passion happened to draw him from his silence and bad humour.

In writing that epigraph, "They wish to be free and cannot be just," it was thought he was summing up all the faults of the Constitutional Assembly, says Madame de Staël; but it is estimating this apophthegm of the abbé's too highly, it was only intended to avenge the suppression of his abbey.

MADAME DE STAËL-HOLSTEIN.

Celebrated with several titles, she first saw the light at Paris, but, being born of Swiss parents, always resented her foreign origin. She liked French society, but chose to live on a rival or inimical soil to France. She followed the fashions and arts of Paris, but seemed jealous of the glory of the French, and sought to take away parts of it from them for the benefit of Germany, Italy, and England, which she praised with exaggeration. She had a passionate and ardent genius, and a lively and restless imagination. It was said that a single country could not satisfy or hold her. She embraced Europe at a glance, and appeared to revolt against the obstacles which in some society and courts were raised against the flight of her mind and the activity of her zeal.

Madame de Staël tried to criticise us rather than make us better by continually praising foreigners to excess. The finest page of her works is not that in which she praised Wellington; she would have performed an act of courageous justice if she had rendered a sincere and solemn homage to the fortune of Napoleon, who judged her rightly in sending her away from his court, but was wrong in doing her the honour of exile.

Banished to Coppet, she was strictly watched by M. Capelle, whom Napoleon had appointed Prefect of Geneva expressly to spy upon the conduct of the illustrious writer. One should read in her "Dix Ans d'Exil" in what a satirical spirit this celebrated woman has exposed the hypocritical proceedings of Baron Capelle, and with what spirit she has ridiculed the

provincial fatuity and official importance of this personage.

Madame de Staël has exhibited a manly mind in her writings on politics, towards which all her studies and inclinations seemed to lead her. But on other subjects she has developed her talent better only in painting social life; moreover, in no part of her writing has she presented a stronger and truer enthusiasm for genius than in her letters on J. J. Rousseau.

Madame de Staël was often mistaken when she wished to appear as a speculative politician; she showed many prejudices when she meddled with the Revolution, which she viewed sometimes as a woman, at others as a Utopian. She understood the interests and passions of social life better than the movements and requirements of the nation.

In "Corinne" Madame de Staël has shown real imagination. Reviving the *fêtes* of the middle ages, she successfully and enthusiastically depicts Corinne at the Capitol, which is an ideal picture of poetic life and the great rewards which society can accord to genius. She also wrote an admirable picture of a little Scotch town that is especially beautiful by its expressive truth of detail. But it is principally when Corinne descends into the ruins of Herculaneum that Madame de Staël is a philosopher and painter.

Madame de Staël has given animated pictures in her "Considérations sur la Révolution Française," she has shown generous impatience and harassed opinion by witty ironies; but her filial piety blinded her in the interests of France and its noble defenders. She has well depicted the actions of the new court, which was formed with the noise of cannon and the precipitate

and shameful fall of so many of the notabilities of the social reformation, towards the common obedience of slaves.

She compares with stern philosophy this conqueror at the height of his glory with his court of kings, procession of generals, and Cæsarian alliances, carrying, however, a germ of destruction in his moral nature, and even of fall in the excess of his power.

Her "Considérations sur la Révolution Française" are historical memoirs, which contemporaries construed in these words: "My father and I . . ."

The spirit of egotism and family pride is there shown on every page.

She said of Bonaparte, the First Consul: "He is a Robespierre on horseback."

Louis XVIII. said of Madame de Staël in 1814: "Here is a Chateaubriand in petticoats come amongst us."

TALLEYRAND.

The whole diplomacy of Europe was united at Vienna in a brilliant congress of *fêtes*. The French legation had been entrusted to M. de Talleyrand, the expression or rather instrument of the English system since the disgrace it had sustained in 1808. M. de Talleyrand employed every means to dominate the mind of the Czar of Russia. He had the gates of the capital opened to him; it was in his residence in the Rue Saint-Florentin that Alexanter had been received by the chief of the provisional council, and he tried to influence his host either by giving up Napoleon to him, assigning him the first place among the allies, or finally by recalling the Bourbons

who had for a long time been protected at St. Petersburg. But M. de Talleyrand's efforts and clevernes did not come to anything.

From the time of his arrival at Vienna, M. de Talleyrand, already an English politician, came to an understanding with Lord Castlereagh and Prince Metternich, with a view to stopping the progress of Russia, and limiting her influence on European politics.

The coalition gave rise to a correspondence with Louis XVIII. The French minister indulged in pleasantries, out of place at such a time, on the Romanoff family, which was not old enough for a Russian princess to marry the Duke of Berry. These not very respectful pleasantries became known to the Emperor Alexander, and the Czar, despised for his birth, never forgave M. de Talleyrand this insult.

In 1814 the Restoration was entirely on the English system. On quitting Hartwell, Louis XVIII. said to the Regent, afterwards George IV., that he held his crown from the King of England. The Duke of Richelieu did not then meddle in the negotiations. The catastrophe of the 20th of March, 1815, obliged him to emigrate again, and when Louis XVIII. came back from Ghent on the 7th of July, following in the train of Wellington and Blucher, he formed a ministry of which M. de Talleyrand was appointed President. But the latter then understood that Russia was to exercise great influence on affairs and rule the policy of the cabinets; as a palliative he proposed to give the Duke of Richelieu, who was devoted to the Emperor Alexander, the administration of the King's household. The Duke of Richelieu did not accept it,

under the pretext of his dislike to sitting beside Fouché, the Minister of General Police. But this motive was not the true one; Richelieu was convinced that Talleyrand, the President of the Council, was the expression of the policy of the English alliance, and besides the Czar did not wish to treat with the man, who had wounded the pride of his house, at any price.

Louis XVIII., who was always a dissimulator, was not ignorant of what he might expect from Russian influence to lighten the charges of invasion and occupation of territory. He regarded Alexander as the only one whose intervention was disinterested; for England and Prussia were as insatiable in their greed as they were implacable in their hatred. All this was revealed in the correspondence and diplomatic claims of Castlereagh, Hardenberg, and Count Goltz, who acted under the influence of England.

Again, the German powers had made known their pretensions to territorial cessions and an indefinite occupation. It was then that the Czar confidentially declared that he would never treat with M. de Talleyrand, the *protégé* of Wellington. Louis XVIII.'s Minister in vain offered cessions of territory, the payment of an indemnity, and the occupation of France by a number of troops for an indefinite period, but the negotiations made no progress owing to the Russian resistance. The state of France became worse every day. M. de Talleyrand, always hanging on to the Presidency of the Council, in vain proposed again the administration of the King's household, and added to it the administration of the interior for the Corsico-Russian Pozzo-di-Borgo. The negotiations did not advance, and Louis XVIII., who did not like M. de

Talleyrand, made no difficulty of taking him at his word when, forced by the Czar's resistance, he tendered his resignation. M. de Richelieu replaced M. de Talleyrand in the Presidency of the Council, and combined with it the Foreign Office; but he could only with difficulty succeed with the deplorable treaty of the 20th of November, 1815, which this minister declared fatal to France while signing it.

Young Maurice de Talleyrand, eldest son of the Count of Périgord, Governor of Languedoc, was destined in his infancy for the army. It is doubtful, judging by his political life, whether he would have been a brave or good general in the army. His nurse decided otherwise by letting him fall to the ground; he dislocated his foot, and from that time he was destined for the church. The club-footed child was soon Abbé of Périgord, and before the Revolution of 1789, had become Bishop of Autun. It is said that he concerned himself more with the public funds on the Bourse than with the ecclesiastical discipline of his diocese. In April, 1789, he was appointed a clerical member of the States-General. Here a new career opened for him. He sailed with the wind of this period with the same skill as he did with that of following periods.

M. de Talleyrand knew whom to resemble in diplomacy; his maternal grandmother was the famous Princess des Ursins, the only woman who had been a great diplomatist. It was she whom Louis XIV. sent to the court of Madrid to the old King Charles II. to get the will which nominated his grandson, the French Prince Philippe, to the throne of Spain. So M. Maurice de Talleyrand did not fail to place the por-

trait of his worthy grandmother in the gallery of portraits collected at the castle of Valençay.

He was phlegmatic, observant, and not very communicative. His reception was cool; he put questions, but did not reply to those addressed to himself. His speech was short, jerky, distorted and enigmatic; a sphinx ought to have been placed in his cabinet, like the Egyptians placed them near tombs. He regarded learned, enlightened or celebrated men as books which he might peruse, they were to him a living library which he consulted in preference to all books. After one or two conversations with men of renown, he scrutinised, analysed and judged them, and thought he knew the contents of these walking books.

No politician has ever made so general and profitable a use of the minds and imaginations of others; moreover, when at the time of the Constituent Assembly some partisans of this clerical deputy were praising his intelligence, Mirabeau replied: "M. de Talleyrand is a sponge which passes over conversations and only takes from them what may be useful to him." It was the system and faculty of appropriation which constituted the whole political power of this minister. He assimilated the thoughts of others so far as to make them appear as his own. He has produced nothing in literature or political science; he was too circumspect to deliver himself in the press, which he only regarded as an instrument of power and auxiliary of diplomacy. Everything was premeditated with him, even sallies and witticisms. The organs of his intelligence were dull and of a mediocre constitution, fit for productions of the mind, but incapable of receiving the inspirations of genius. He had no

feeling of patriotism, which he always regarded as sublime dupery. With his own eyes he had seen that glory and renown did not guarantee one against great adversity; he turned towards blind fortune, which enriched him without seeing him, and covered him with honours without knowing him. To do good to mankind seemed to him a chimera and a danger; to defend the right of nations was to provoke public ingratitude. He turned towards strong governments, only abandoning them when they became feeble. He was the man for emergencies, the oracle of the past, discounter of the present, and despiser of the future. His religion consisted in worshipping the rising sun.

This is how he sketched the portrait of a Minister of Foreign Affairs :—

"A Minister of Foreign Affairs ought to have a kind of instinct which, warning him quickly, prevents him in all discussions from ever compromising himself. He must have the faculty of appearing candid while being reticent, of being reserved with an appearance of ease, and of being clever in the choice of his diversions. His conversation must be plain, varied, unexpected, always natural and sometimes naïve; in a word, he must not cease for a moment during the whole twenty-four hours from being a Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"However, all these qualities, however rare they may be, would not be enough if good faith did not give them a security which they nearly always need; I ought to mention it here to do away with a widespread prejudice; no, diplomacy is not a science of cunning and duplicity; if good faith is necessary anywhere it is above all necessary in political transactions, for it is that which renders them solid and durable. Some have wished

to confound reserve with cunning;[1] good faith never authorises deceit, but it admits of reserve, which has the particular property of increasing confidence.

"Dominated by the honour and interest of his country and the honour and interest of his prince, and by love of liberty founded on order and the rights of all, a Minister of Foreign Affairs, when he knows how to be one, will thus be placed in the finest situation to which an exalted mind can aspire."

M. de Talleyrand thus traces out the duties of a consul: "If the attributes of a consul are infinitely varied, they are quite different from those of others employed in foreign affairs. They require a fund of practical knowledge, for which a special education is necessary. Consuls have to exercise in the extent of their districts the functions of arbiters, judges and conciliators with regard to their countrymen; often they are even civil officers, and sometimes carry out the duties of administrators of the navy; they overlook and establish sanitary matters; they are the men who, from their constant relations, can give a just and complete idea of the condition of commerce and navigation, or the particular industry in the country of their residence; they must know the law of nations and maritime law, because they have to give decisions as political agents, consular agents, and administrators of naval affairs."

[1] When, in a diplomatic conversation in 1807, the Spanish ambassador at Paris one day recalled to mind the promises made by M. de Talleyrand as minister of Napoleon, in favour of Charles IV., words which were to become the basis of a political transaction between the two powers, M. de Talleyrand replied, "Speech was given to man to disguise his thoughts," "I thought," energetically retorted M. d'Izquierdo, "that it was to express his thoughts."

These passages are extracted from a kind of political testament which M. de Talleyrand deposited at the Institute on the 1st of March, 1838, in presence of a large assembly of diplomatists and learned men, who made much of the old age of the Minister of so many governments and congresses, and the former Chamberlain of Napoleon and Louis XVIII., finishing his long career as the Ambassador of Louis-Philippe in England.

He thus depicts the chief of a division in the Foreign Office: "How many diverse qualities ought to distinguish such a chief of an office! His ways must be simple, regular and retiring. A stranger to the tumult of the world, he ought to live only for business and vow impenetrable secrecy on it. Always ready to answer on deeds and men, he ought to have every treaty continually in his memory, to know their dates historically, justly appreciate their strong and weak sides, their antecedents and their consequences, and indeed know the names of their principal negotiators, and even their family relations. But in making use of all his knowledge, he ought to take care not to slight the pride of a minister always so clear-sighted, for when even the chief of a section influences a minister by his advice or opinion, success ought to remain in the background. He ought to think that he, the chief of an office, can only shine with a reflected light, and ought to content himself with an uncorrupt, modest life."

Can M. de Talleyrand congratulate himself with having found or formed such chiefs of divisions in the course of his ministerial employment, under the Executive Directory, the Consulate and the Empire? and has the character of his selections in the *personnel* of the

ministry always answered these requirements of uprightness and political probity and morality?

When M. de Talleyrand gave up the diplomatic offices which he exercised at London after the revolution of 1830, he retired to Valençay. His domestic life there is very regular: he only takes a meal at five o'clock in the evening; he is as Tacitus said of Augustus, "homo pauci cibi." There is good cheer only for his guests and visitors.

After this unique repast comes the hour for promenading; hand carriages serve to convey M. de Talleyrand in the walks of the park, other carriages await the pedestrians at the door of the drawing-room. After the promenade, which lasts until eight or nine o'clock, the Prince of Bénévento's whist lasts until two o'clock in the morning; it is his favourite game. His bed is surrounded with two rows of books; he sits up for some hours in his bedroom, and sleeps little. Perfect order reigns throughout the castle; the Duchess of Dino rarely leaves her uncle, M. de Talleyrand, alone. His dress is always very plain, and even careless, and the furniture of his apartment has not undergone any changes of fashion; it is still the furniture of the eighteenth century. His library is wholly devoted to the authors of the eighteenth century, which, however, he has studied less than the men and events of the nineteenth.

Some indiscreet visitors, noticing his predominant taste for the eighteenth century one day, asked his opinion on the forty years preceding the Revolution of 1789, compared with the forty years which followed it. M. de Talleyrand exalted with all the force of his voice and gesture the period which commences with

Montesquieu and ends with the Constituent Assembly. "There is nothing comparable in any time or any place," said M. de Talleyrand, "to the admirable movement of ideas which was in operation from 1749, the year of the appearance of 'L'Esprit des Lois,' until 1792—1791," he added, correcting himself. Afterwards he highly praised Montesquieu, Buffon, D'Alembert and Diderot, the authors of the preface of the Encyclopædia, on which he dwelt much. But it was above all to the genius of Voltaire that he paid the greatest tribute of admiration; and then, recalling the diplomatic offices he exercised in the Congress of Vienna in 1814 and 1815, he exclaimed with energy: "I affirm that if Ferney had not been given to France I would never have signed the Treaty of Vienna."

The ornaments of the drawing-room of Valençay are as varied as the political life of M. de Talleyrand, and correspond with all the periods of his ministerial and diplomatic career. This room is decorated, first, with a fine half-length portrait of the Duke of Courland, father of the Duchess of Dino; secondly, with a portrait of Ferdinand VII., son of Charles IV., King of Spain, who was for a long time confined by Napoleon in the castle of Valençay; thirdly, with a magnificent portrait of the King of Saxony; fourthly, with a fine full-length portrait of Napoleon, with this inscription, "Given by His Majesty the Emperor to M. de Talleyrand;" fifthly, with a full-length portrait of Louis XVIII., taken after the Restoration; sixthly, a full-length portrait of Charles X., somewhat young-looking, recalling the Count of Artois rather than the exile of Holyrood, Prague, and Goritz; and seventhly, a full-length portrait of Louis Philippe.

All these monuments of art represent the various phases of the political life of this imperturbable diplomatist.

He served with the same cleverness and skill under the different governments whose fate he has seen change or dominion fall. His cool, observant mind was not for one moment moved at seeing all those illustrious captives of royalty disappear.

M. de Talleyrand must not be judged by the opinion one entertains of his diplomacy. His character at Valençay appears to differ a great deal from his character at Vienna and London; in his private life he is beloved on account of his kindness and friendly frankness, which would be dangerous in the world. He throws off the diplomatist in the midst of his own, whose fortune and bringing-up give him no painful care but only enjoyment.

He is kindly to those who serve him and come near him. No unkind word escapes his mouth; he keeps his piquant witticisms for the conversations and requirements of the capital.

Madame de Flahaut, talking with Madame de Guibert on the question of the former Bishop of Autun, who had become Minister of Foreign Affairs under the Consulate, said that none could conduct a perfidious plan or necessary infamy so well as Talleyrand and so cleverly cover his retreat. "However," replied Madame de Guibert to her friend, "M. de Tallyrand enjoys the highest consideration of all the members of the diplomatic body." "I quite believe it, he is cleverer, and more of a dissimulator than any of them; he is a man of intelligence not occupied with useless reading; he has studied men and been obliged by his ambition and his

offices to search the human heart, and he has seen a crowd of events pass before him; moreover, nothing surprises him, he is used to great treasons, small perfidies, deception, the artifices of hatred, and the snares of flattery; I have often seen M. de Talleyrand in society, and he always appeared to me calm even to coldness, but an agreeable and lively conversationist. You may think what you like, my friend, but I am persuaded that M. de Talleyrand could receive a kick on his backside without his mild, polite face showing anything." "If he is so, he is the most powerful of European diplomatists."

He was hated by the Executive Directory and feared by the Imperial Government. He betrayed the first to raise the Consul Bonaparte on its ruins; he betrayed Napoleon for the Restoration of the emigrants; he betrayed the Restoration for the government which arose out of the Revolution of July. He always kept himself at a distance from the nation and on the watch for events, so as to utilise them to his own profit, as far as one made any movement or the others became more malleable.

In the month of November, 1830, when the new government had given him the title of Ambassador to England, he went to La Fayette's house, which was then most frequented; but every one went away at his approach, to such a degree did his presence awaken remembrance of our disasters and our mean-spirited concessions at the Congress of Vienna. Talleyrand turned pale in spite of his old experience and retired.

During the ministry of M. de Talleyrand the members of the diplomatic body ordinarily went to see him

after ten o'clock at night; the minister arrived, said a few words, seated himself, and while talking carelessly fell asleep. A few persons attached to the ministry conversed among themselves in a low tone. The ambassadors remained motionless, resolutely watching the moment of his awakening to seize an opportunity to extort a few words from M. de Talleyrand. Patience is the diplomatic virtue.

We lend only to the rich. These are the Machiavelian principles which an English newspaper pretends were revealed to Louis Philippe by M. de Talleyrand in his last conversation during his illness.

"Always talk of liberty and liberal institutions and govern with bayonets; gain over the good or bad press by your liberality. Let the gates of the prison of St. Pelagia sometimes open for journalists! If you do not make them go there, they will, nevertheless, go there on their own account; you will have the merit of releasing them from it. Small plots from time to time cannot do any harm. The Parisians are fond of distraction—the scaffold or the amnesty alike amuse them."

If William Pitt was called the minister of preparations, M. de Talleyrand ought to be called the minister of palliatives. During his ministry Pitt made all the preparations for the alliances and paid wars against liberty; under Castlereagh his preparations led the armed reaction of all the European states against France.

M. de Talleyrand prepared Napoleon's first fall; he made preparations for the Restoration without guaranteeing its duration. In the Congress of Vienna he made the preparations for Waterloo and the second

foreign invasion: he made preparations for Greek and Belgian royalty, and he prepared the illusory, barren quadruple alliance.

M. de Talleyrand's memoirs are much spoken of now he is dead. He wrote little and revealed himself still less. Being occupied in disguising his opinion, how could he have spoken the truth in his acts and gestures? If his memoirs exist, it is to deceive posterity as he deceived his contemporaries. He who betrays his country can more easily betray history. We are assured that M. Perrey, M. de Talleyrand's faithful and upright secretary, is in possession of the greater part of the intended manuscript; parts are even quoted in which the old diplomatist has drawn the portraits of Madame de Staël, Madame de Genlis, the Dukes of Dalberg and Choiseul, and more than a hundred other living persons.

TALMA.

In an interval of ten months, from the 29th of December, 1825, to the 19th of October, 1826, France witnessed the disappearance of two remarkable men in the fine arts of our country.

David and Talma, conspicuous in painting and on the stage, were associated by their ideas, talents, and works with the general movement of the human mind. They had made a wholesome revolution in the fine arts and preserved to France its pre-eminence over civilised nations.

David and Talma were creators each after his own kind by courageously and ingeniously evading dangerous routine, and the depressing influence of the narrow schools and mannerisms of the last century.

Both, by combining the study of antiquity with the study of nature, found good and powerful inspirations. They have formed public taste, which alone can prevent the decline of the arts. It requires more than talent to render such services to civilisation.

It has often been observed that the lot of a great actor was less happy in several respects than that of a great writer or painter. An absurd prejudice, the traces of which are not entirely effaced among the French, drives with revolting injustice from civil and religious society men whose studies and talents have revived for our eyes masterpieces of scenery and great historical characters. Moreover, the actor only leaves traditions and remembrances of the perfection to which he has carried his art, which always become dimmer and dimmer with time, and finally fade away. These traditions and remembrances are not fixed by any monument. It is not so with painting; the glory of Michael Angelo, Raphael, Poussin, Correggio, Lesueur and David is so to speak always living. Their productions exist, decorate temples, palaces and museums, and will always be the object of eternal admiration. The invention of engraving alone, with the degree of perfection to which it has been carried, would suffice to immortalise the masterpieces of painting. It is an art which cannot be too much encouraged; there is an exalted rank in the estimation of enlightened nations for clever engravers as for good translators in verse and prose.

In his conversation Talma used to be pleased to explain by what means he had brought about theatrical reform; it had commenced before him, but in a timid and incomplete way. He acknowledged that

the whole secret of his art lay in the profound study which he had made of the human heart.

The French do not like theories, but it is necessary, however, that all improvement should be preceded and aided by a theory before being formulated in practice. That is what Talma strongly felt before conspiring with Manlius, becoming enamoured with Orestes, tyrannising with Sulla, or cruelly dissimulating with Nero.

But if the studies which Talma made of the human heart were a fruit of his work, he had not even the tragic exterior, thoughtful countenance, and above all powerful voice, at one time sonorous at another rumbling, which commands, beseeches, brings tears or spreads terror and pity, and stirs up enthusiasm and fright by turns in our hearts; that powerful voice, mobile countenance, and these simple and true gestures are the work of Nature, who has richly endowed the great actor with them.

What distinguishes him above all is the profound art with which he causes dramatic interest to pervade the piece through the genius of the author. His principal skill lay in the depth of expression and the progressive development of dramatic strength. Talma knew well how to manage scenic interest and give it constant progression, while he seemed to dispose at will of the individual sensations of the spectators and the impressions of the mass of the audience.

To rest after his dramatic passions, which are so hard to pass into the souls of spectators, this great tragedian used to go to Brunoy to acquire new strength in rural occupations, which had a great attraction for him. He placed himself in the closest possible proximity to the things of nature and common life. He often changed

the form, the paths and the irregularities of his landscape gardens. He varied their plantations, and groups of trees and vegetables; everything seemed to be animated under his industrious hands. He only sought the benefits of the theatre to transfer them to his country house of Brunoy.

I always watched this great actor whether at Paris or Brussels. In his last fifteen years he surpassed himself. His great talent had received from time to time that perfection which only belongs to genius. His study of strong passions and researches on the sentiments of pity and terror gave their great results to his age, which had passed the time of maturity. Then all the riches of tragic art seemed united to endow him with the most forcible expression and sublime sentiment. Moreover, when Melpomene was in mourning for Talma, there was only one cry of grief in Europe. On returning to Paris, after having seen him for ten years at Brussels during my exile, I could not resolve to go and see his mediocre successors at the Théâtre-Français. The tragedies which Talma played have, for a long time, disappeared from the *répertoire*. Tragedy has been yelled, but no longer expressed. They have not dared to reproduce *Sulla*. It could be said that the dictator of the Théâtre-Français has abdicated like the dictator of Rome.

THIERS.

He came to Paris to earn his living by letters. Such a calling is honourable in all countries. As the Revolution and its various results was then only talked of, M. Thiers set about writing the history of it, to get himself noticed and to take a place in the opinion of the

period. It was a great success for him in bookselling and was the beginning of his fortune. He took advantage of it to throw himself into political literature; he worked on several newspapers. But when the Revolution of July came, the historian and journalist gave place to the financier and deputy. They were two new careers; but ambition makes everybody march forward. There he is then appointed Under-Secretary of Finance, of which the banker Laffitte was at the helm. He becomes the distributor of places and a deputy, and at the tribune constituted himself the fiscal defender of the whole ministerial and financial system of 1831. His Provençal talkativeness at first seemed somewhat agreeable, but it became overbearing, bold and even insolent. He disappeared from the administration of finance with the banker Laffitte, but remaining a member of the Chamber of Deputies, he was not long before he attached himself to another banker-minister, for he could not separate from the power of the bank. What would power be to him without finance! There he is, then, under the Perier ministry, as he had been under the Laffitte ministry, the necessary man and gratified orator.

"I propose," he said on the first page of his book, "to write in a few words the history of a memorable revolution which has deeply agitated men and still divides them to-day (1823)." And this writer who presented himself so laconically, wrote this history *in a few words* in ten large octavo volumes of 440 pages each.

M. Thiers adds, to justify the historical mission which he took with his bookseller, that "to write the history of the Revolution we must wait till the moment when the actors, old men, are about to expire, and

gather their testimony without sharing their passions." A strange way to write a history, on the tombs of its authors and contemporaries, and to make for deeds and men whom he neither saw nor knew of, an exact and impartial setting out of their opinions and passions! He again adds: "After having tried to allay every sentiment of hatred in myself, I picture myself as if I were alternately an obscure plebeian and a privileged aristocrat; from that moment I cannot get irritated; I pity the combatants, and am a model of order; I condemned all those who swerved from it, not through hatred, but for honour and justice, and to preserve to history its morality and lessons." Such is the moral position in which M. Thiers proudly places himself, by abandoning, although a Provençal, every sentiment of hatred and party feeling. There he is, then, at work, this great writer, improvised at Paris *pro fame non pro fama*, as the Italians say; and this great writer gave the historic muse all his moral dignity and great precepts. The habits and person of the author are the sureties of this literary modesty.

Under the Restoration M. Thiers gave reasons for bookselling; under our constitutional monarchy he did it for the ministry. His books on the Revolution, written from hearsay and journalistic traditions, he has sold dearly. He sells still more dearly his discourse on finance in favour of the administration.

Writing in a tract entitled "Les Pyrénées," and speaking of the regency of Urgel, presided over by a legitimist barrister of Madrid named Florida Blanca, M. Thiers said, in speaking of this pretended king of Urgel: "Nothing is astonishing in times of revolution when existences are so quickly improvised."

In thus writing on the Pyrenees and Florida Blanca M. Thiers did not think he was depicting himself.

This Provençal deputy, since he has pushed himself into power, talks with excessive garrulity on every question. Nothing comes amiss to him; he pleads for and against with equal facility; he upholds the charter and violation; he makes more of this granted constitution than Louis XVIII., and as much as M. de Villèle, who found all he wanted in it. M. Thiers strives to produce effect rather than to be right; he thinks he is a matchless orator if he can occupy the tribune during half a sitting. He is the most intrepid supporter and sometimes the greatest jester of doctrine, who exclaims while listening with commanded enthusiasm: "Behold one who is strong in reasoning!"

With his little voice, insolent spirit and southern accent, he speaks audaciously with upstart garrulity. He alternately defended the cause of the Chouans and the existence of the Carlists. He served in the following of the banker-president of the Council, and though M. Casimir Perier was several times ashamed of such an auxiliary he bounded with rage and impatience on the ministerial bench. M. Casimir Perier frequently loudly disavowed this perfidious defender, who roused at pleasure, or through the fatuity of the author, recollections and hatreds over which nearly half a centuty had passed in vain. His voice was several times drowned in cries of disapprobation and sardonic laughter. One sees him with horror invoking the ignominious treaties of 1815 in favour of autocratic Russia against exterminated Poland.

As a politician he showed himself but a political rough-rider.

Replying to M. Mauquin, who was speaking on behalf of Poland, M. Thiers tried to prove that Poland in 1772 had been protected because it was impossible for it to have an existence of itself; because it was a flat country, open on all sides, and with but arbitrary boundaries; because history proved that it was an ungovernable nation; and finally, because only ignorant and narrow-minded politicians admitted that common and so-often-repeated opinion that Western Europe required independent Poland to be placed between Russia and the European States. M. Thiers added, without knowing it, that this opinion had been condemned by Frederick II., the Prince of Kaunitz, and Napoleon. Who does not know that Frederick several times acknowledged that he had been forced by Catherine II. to take part in the partition of Poland, of which he disapproved? M. de La Fayette repeated this avowal at the tribune in 1831, when the question of Polish nationality was debated.

But how comes it that in 1831 M. Thiers thinks so differently from what he thought in his "History of the Revolution," in the volume in which he discusses the partition of the Venetian States, sacrificed by General Bonaparte in the treaty of Campo Formio, which was a political crime in the conduct of the victorious negotiator with Austria at Campo Formio?

"The partition of the Venetian States," says the historian M. Thiers, "has nothing which resembles the famous attempt with which Europe has been so often reproached. Poland was divided by the very same powers who had roused it to insurrection and solemnly promised to aid it. Venice, to which the French had sincerely offered their friendship, refused

it, and prepared to betray them and surprise them in a moment of peril. Poland was a state whose boundaries were clearly drawn on the map of Europe, whose independence was, so to speak, commanded by nature and of consequence to the repose of the West, whose constitution, although defective, was generous, and whose infamously - betrayed citizens had displayed great courage and merited the interest of civilized nations.'

But M. Thiers does not look at it so closely as a matter of contradiction. He never had, as a minister or as a historian, any fixed system, intellectual sequence, a complete order of ideas, nor firm principles. He wrote as he acted, at random, according to circumstances and the dictates of ambition.

Having become Minister for Foreign Affairs, he changed systems and political alliances, whether with Switzerland, Spain, or the English government, in less than a month.

As President of the Council, what decided step has he taken? Has he founded a new order of interests by binding himself to continental powers? Has he confirmed the old order of interests by jointly associating himself with English power, a maritime enemy and industrial rival, who will never change her political influence, always so secret, complicated and formidable?

In a famous speech in the Chamber of Deputies (in the sitting of the 24th of March, 1840), after having acknowledged that he was a child of the Revolution and that without it he would have been nothing, he hastened to declare that he wished for a wise and non-disturbing revolution, and that he regarded the propaganda which caused disturbance in foreign nations as a crime. "If I assisted in the revolutions," he

exclaimed, "it was because they were accomplished." The nation and liberty do not owe much gratitude to the egoistical efforts of those who turn towards a revolution which has not been accomplished at their peril and risk, but who have derived advantage from them after they have been accomplished.

M. Thiers is an orator full of intelligence and cunning, but without views or energy; his speeches are brilliant, acute and fascinating, but like flashes of lightning, which shine for a moment and then leave us in greater darkness.

He is not a real orator and thinker like the British members, but a clever, versatile, and redundantly prosy talker at the tribune. Sometimes he cleverly flatters popular sentiment, at others he resists revolutionary movements, although he made himself the historian of them.

If ever M. Thiers succeeds, through the maturity which years give, and the experiences of elevation and all, in having an orderly, connected and united mind, and sincere nationality, he would cease to be counted among parliamentary empirics, and he might rise to the *rôle* of a statesman.

However, M. Thiers is of more use at the national tribune than in the ministerial council. The tribune animates him, the council extinguishes him. He has too much imagination for the secret deliberations of ministers.

At the tribune he exercises a sort of initiative by his improvisations, and gets himself applauded for sudden ideas and unforeseen features; but in the retirement of the cabinet he has no inspiration nor resolution; he loses his talent and eloquence in growing cool through

deliberation. He was conciliating in presence of the public, he is presumptuous and absolute in presence of power.

M. Thiers, if left to himself, would no doubt be capable of great and generous views (as he proved in one of his speeches on the preservation of Algiers in 1836); but his too facile elocution and the mobility of his mind seldom allow him to give consistent attention to ideas which might be fruitful and useful.

It is not sufficient, in a representative government, to be a brilliant orator or a clever and acute minister, one must produce a complete and national political system; one must do more, that is, follow the execution of it and make the results of it prevail; otherwise none can succeed in being aught but a common politician or very middling statesman.

He was not eloquent; his intelligence did not reach to that. The *pectus quod disertos facit* was entirely wanting in him. This talent of Phœnician origin is abrupt, light, unequal, passionate, and sometimes illimitable and inconsistent. His style at the tribune only shone like flashes of lightning. As soon as he begins to amplify a political theme with his irresolute and groping talkativeness he is full of contradictions, repetitions and incoherency. As a politician he is vacillating and irresolute; as an orator he is disconnected, without resolution and energy; he has too much of what the French call *esprit* to decide on having a settled plan and complete system. On mounting the tribune he seems not to know where he is going nor the end he desires to attain. Want of direction and result generally characterises our tribunal talkers. To gain effect and fill the newspapers is their ambition. But

France and the interest of the country count for nothing. The solemn use of speech which they call eloquence is only to them a cloak for show or a step by which they can rise to the ministry. Demosthenes, Cicero, Fox and Mirabeau did not make this use of it. But that is ancient history to our nineteenth-century orators.

In 1836 M. Thiers only spoke of intervention in Spain ; he had suddenly become warlike and anti-revolutionary. This belligerent humour only gave him ineffaceable ridicule and frightened the crown. But M. Thiers had his general officer, Bugeaud, whom he had decorated for a victory over the Bedouins. This hero of the Dordogne had made a hundred Arab prisoners in Africa. To M. Thiers he was a man for great enterprises, and without calling to mind the memorable and not very creditable disappointment of Napoleon's generals in Spain, he insisted on going to fight the revolution and the Cortes, where Napoleon had failed with his marshals and two hundred thousand men occupying the Peninsula.

The President of the Council, Thiers, had also forgotten, with his General Bugeaud and his thirty thousand men, that there existed in Europe a Holy Alliance, keeping France under continual supervision, and he took no measures for guarding himself against the military and invading Northerners!

Besides, M. Thiers has fallen and finished his political career, the improvised successes of which must often have astonished him, above all in the silence of the night when the flatterers of power were sleeping.

In October, 1836, M. Thiers left Paris and went to visit Rome, occupied not with the former liberty of that

queen of the world, but with her old monuments. The fallen minister made an archæological journey; the President of the Council is no more than a curious tourist. The modern deputy goes through the remains of antiquity like an artist. The historian of the Revolution only goes to see Rome as a literary man; he will find there the genius of Tacitus, from which he is so far distant; the virtue of Cato, of which he has no idea; the patriotic eloquence of Cicero, which he will never approach; and the liberty of Brutus, which he cannot understand.

M. Thiers, the ministerial traveller, historian and academician, is attached to the talent of the celebrated French painter M. Ingres, the director of the French Academy at Rome, and with him and M. Lego, the Secretary of the Academy, he commenced by visiting the Villa Medici for more than an hour.

M. Thiers, the Minister of Public Works, gave M. Sigalon the commission of going to Rome to copy the picture of the "Last Judgment" by Michael Angelo. The minister, who did not look at it closely, ordered a copy of this painting in the Sistine chapel, which is now in a great state of dilapidation, like all old fresco paintings. M. Sigalon has been obliged, in order to make his ordered copy, to avail himself of the help of engravings which have been made at different times, and which are known in Paris, where every art-lover's portfolio contains a fine proof.

All the colour having entirely disappeared from this masterpiece of fresco painting, M. Sigalon will be obliged to invent a local tone. M. Sigalon's talent is well known, and if it cannot triumph over difficulties, it can at least mitigate them.

There is, however, at Paris, and the minister Thiers was doubtless ignorant of it, for even very few art-lovers know it, an admirable copy of the "Last Judgment." It belongs to M. le Chevalier de Bistolli, and forms part of a very fine collection of ancient pictures. In 1833 M. de Bistolli was bargaining with the Prussian government for four of his principal pictures, which the French government ought to have bought instead of spending a large sum for M. Sigalon's copy.

M. Thiers experienced a check at the Chamber of Deputies through the failure of his little manœuvres relative to the project for finishing the Louvre, the library, and the transverse gallery. His domestic zeal could not disarm the monarch's anger, who took upon himself to show him quickly enough what is the gratitude of courts. In spite of his obsequious administration and his oratorical outpourings in the Chamber, the noble courtiers and newly-created noblemen persist in regarding him as an intruder, plebeian, upstart creature and lettered nobody. He is not a councillor of the crown, but a simple servant of the king, and would very soon be supplanted if one more verbose, shameless, servile, fit for anything, and more capable of renouncing every kind of right and principle, could be found.

M. Thiers, a minister too complaisant for the whims of power, had a presentiment of his own fall when he said in the Chamber of Deputies, "Five years are required for the completion of the Louvre; you see very well that I am disinterested in the question." That did not hinder him from supporting the resistances of the Chamber of Deputies and the ill-treatment of the castle of the Tuileries.

In the ministry M. Thiers forswore, not his opinions, but those which he had exposed in his "History of the French Revolution;" he has been charged with wandering deliberately at the tribune, of only thinking from day to day, with improvising his renunciation of principles, and from time to time inventing some new theory of government for the needs of ministerialism; sometimes necessity, at others legality. To the ambition of riches and power is joined the ambition of monarchical honours; having been made an officer of the Legion of Honour during the cholera, he was nominated to the French Academy during the influenza. These accumulated honours are also an epidemic malady.

It would have been better and more honourable for the historian of the Revolution to have been nominated a member of the French Academy in his simple capacity as a man of letters, than to have overloaded his ministerial coat with green palms. This academic honour has nothing flattering in it, because it is not literary but ministerial. An institution which issued from the despotic brain of Cardinal Richelieu cannot be a free and independent company. The French Academy is opened to allow the portfolio of the Minister of Public Works to enter, as if the Academy were a canal sluice or a railway.

"The only thing truly admirable in France," said M. Thiers in 1833, "is the power of telegraphy."

In fact, the results obtained during the Restoration were decrees of banishment and death, rapidly transmitted from Paris to the most distant departments; the results obtained during the "doctrinaire" system were the rapid propagation of official lies and the

lucrative operations of the Bourse. According to M. Thiers, an Englishman acknowledged to him "that the telegraphs and centralisation are the two causes of the superiority of France over all the states of Europe." But the Englishman had forgotten about his own country to speak like this, since England has old municipal liberties of which the intrigues and despotic practices of the Stuarts could not deprive her, since England possesses a material industrial civilization much superior to that of France, whilst the French nation has allowed itself to be absorbed by a vast ornamented arbitrariness in the name of central power!

"M. Thiers's face surprised me; there was less imagination than I had supposed, and the expression of his glance gives him the air of cheating at play rather than treating with men." ("Sketches of Paris," in the *Courrier Français* of the 6th of July, 1833.)

These sketches, published in England, are written with a liberty which proper names do not intimidate. Propriety obliged the *Courrier Français* to suppress or modify some passages.

WELLINGTON.

This accidental conqueror wished to have his magnificent palace in Hyde Park built at the expense of the nation, which gave him £32,000 for that purpose. His Grace drew from the plurality of his sinecures and offices more than £37,000 a year. England had besides to pay for the decoration and magnificent fresco paintings which he had executed in his drawing-rooms. The arrogant general had the battle of Waterloo painted in his reception room, in

which Napoleon is seen in flight without boots or hat, and his "Irish Grace" with a laurel in his left hand and the bâton of a Marshal of France in his right. But for historic truth, it ought to have been painted with the minister Castlereagh holding in his hand the purse with which he bought the treason defection, temporization and perfidious cries of "Sauve qui peut!" that is to say the price of this famous victory, the infamous price which later on led to the suicide of the corruptor.

Wellington was the most obstinate of the English aristocrats, who are the most self-willed aristocrats of Europe. He was the most exacting army leader among the foreigners, and the most oppressive to the countries he occupied; as a politician he was destitute of principles; his fixed idea was despotism, and he only possessed the spirit of the army, which consists of absolute command and passive obedience. Although endowed with a certain fund of common sense, he adopted no other means of government than brute force. He pretended to give nations lessons in morality by plundering their arsenals, libraries and museums.

His fortune, like his reputation, is made up of the disasters of nations and their spoils, which are lavished on him under the name of assignments and pensions as Field-Marshal of the Holy Alliance, Belgium and the Restoration in France. Called by the King, the leader of the Tories, to the English government, he was soon driven from it by public opinion, which in England has more means of expression, more energy and more sway than in all the states of Europe put together. At one time the declared, at another the disguised, enemy of electoral reform, and its obstinate and secret

opponent at the court and House of Lords, he only sought a fresh occasion for seizing upon power; as chief of the cabinet he roused the fear, and above all the indignation, of the whole population of Great Britain. There will remain of him and his policy his obstinate opposition to all reform, the memory of his barbarous resistance to the emancipation of the black slaves, his opposition to the abolition of tithes, and his persistence in maintaining the system of oppression which bears heavily on Ireland.

Beside the railings of Hyde Park rises the palace of this great man, who became a marshal of so many kingdoms after a day of doubtful victory. It is the only house in London which has not a pane of glass in its windows. The traces of the stones of the populace are everywhere visible on its walls, so much so that the duke was obliged to line all the window-shutters and doors of his palace with iron; moreover, wits say that it is not the Duke of Wellington's statue that they ought to have covered with a shield, but rather his house.

Those who can penetrate into the mansion near Hyde Park see a hero with grey locks and bent back; his long face is old, thin, anxious, and haughty; he has a sad rather than a melancholy bearing; he appears tired of his reputation, enormous fortune, and restless and ambitious life. Thus he nobly vegetates in this palace which seems deserted, and on which the people have put the stamp of malediction.

THE END.

H. S. NICHOLS, PRINTER, 3 SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.

GENERAL INDEX OF NAMES

The Roman Numerals denote the volume, the Arabic the page.

Academy of Floral Games, i. 24, 29, 182, 194
Adams, iv. 217, 222
Albitte, ii. 149, 320
Allet de Villeneuve, ii. 137
Alquier, ii. 71, 172
Amboise, Cardinal d', i. 183
Angoulême, Duke of, iv. 65, 80
Anti-British Journal, i. 131
Arago, iv. 95
Arenberg, Duke of, iii. 291, 302, 310, 311
Arnaud, Abbé, i. 182
Arnaud, General, iii. 226
Artevelde, Jacques van, iii. 323
Artiguenaie, iii. 220
Aubriet, i. 262
Aubriot, i. 240
Aymard, iii. 106

Bacon, i. 193
Bailly, i. 34, 207, 215, 240, 275
—— iv. 146, 255
Balck, Count de, iii. 122
Bancal, ii. 264
Baudouin, ii. 41
Barère, Hector, iii. 42, 46, 69
Barère, Jacques, ii. 102, 157
Barère, Jean, i. 175
Barère, Jean Pierre, i. 148
—— iii. 35, 61
Barnave, i. 209, 249, 273
—— iv. 6, 10, 229, 284
Barras, i. 110
—— ii. 151, 172, 190
—— iii. 4, 59, 251, 346
—— iv. 12, 89, 94, 104, 182, 328, 354
Barrière, F. iii. 315
Barrot, Odillon, iv. 14, 53, 139
Barthe, iv. 17, 111
Barthélemy, ii. 135
—— iii. 60
Bassal, ii. 204
Bastille, i. 223, 240
Bayle, Moïse, ii. 98, 168, 294
—— iii. 330
Bazire, ii. 295, 303, 321, 329
Beauharnais, Count de, iii. 135
Beauharnais, General, iv. 349
Beauharnais, Vicomte de, i. 270
Beaumarchais, iv. 31
Beaumetz, iv. 8
Beaumont, Elie de, i. 178
Belgium, iii. 254
Bentham, Jeremy, ii. 193
Béranger, iv. 17, 205, 234
Bernadotte, iii. 127
—— iv. 34
Berry, Duchess of, iv. 115, 149
Berthier, i. 246
—— iv. 89
Beugnot, iii. 191
Beurnonville, ii. 66, 68, 262
—— iii. 181
—— iv. 157
Bigorre, i. 35, 37, 175, 180, 196, 230, 257, 259
Billaud-Varennes, i. 66, 68, 101, 107, 109
—— ii. 87, 90, 177, 198, 210, 217, 221, 235, 294, 298, 301, 314
—— iii. 5, 9
Biography, iv. 1
Biroteau, ii. 275
Blücher, Marshal, iii. 210, 257
Boieldieu, iv. 68, 189, 299
Boissy d'Anglas, i. 78
—— ii. 115, 192
—— iii. 82
—— iv. 34
Boldoni, Prof. ii. 107

Bolivar, iv. 254
Bonald, iv. 296
Bonaparte, Joseph, iii. 178, 199
—— iv. 35
Bonaparte, Louis, iii. 127
—— iv. 36
Bonaparte, Lucien, iii. 88, 98, 107
—— iv. 37
Bonaparte, Napoleon, i. 64, 72, 96, 122, 127, 129, 131, 134, 137, 177
—— ii. 42, 111, 154
—— iii. 64, 77, 81, 96, 110, 115, 133, 141, 149, 151, 155, 164, 169, 189, 195, 207, 251, 273, 287, 304, 328, 341
—— iv. 68, 81, 89, 105, 110, 118, 144, 154, 161, 172, 212, 223, 228, 271, 293, 300, 341, 356, 362, 382,
Bonfontan, M. de, i. 186
Bonne-Carrère, ii. 15
Bonnet de Treiches, iii. 108, 235, 317
Borel, Fauche, iii. 187
Bouchotte, ii. 99
Bougainville, i. 248
Bourdon, ii. 51, 137, 274, 291, 383
—— iv. 88, 329
Bourmont, General, iii. 273
Bourrienne, i. 131
—— iii. 94, 102, 105
Bousquet, Abbé, ii. 20
Bouzies, Chevalier de, iii. 233
Bréard, ii. 248
Brézé, Marquis de, i. 215
Brienne, Cardinal de, i. 32, 187, 196, 239, 244, 295, 332, 352
—— ii. 20, 162
Brissot, ii. 11, 15, 36, 63, 66, 229, 260, 267, 268, 296, 303, 310, 332,
—— iv. 11, 68, 331
Broglie, Count of, iv. 157
Broglie, Duke of, iv. 69
Broglie, Marshal de, i. 217
—— iii. 80
Brueys, i. 120
Brune, Marshal, iv. 75
Brunet, General, ii. 320
Brunswick, Duke of, ii. 3, 10, 289
Brussels, iii. 224, 255, 278
Bugeaud, General, iv. 76, 386
Bulow, iii. 257
Buonarotti, iv. 78
Burdett, Sir Francis, iii. 118
Burke, Edmund, iv. 214, 324
Burr, Colonel Aaron, iv. 218
Buzot, ii. 232, 236, 248, 252, 268
Byron, Lord, iv. 122, 204

Caesar, Julius, i. 189
Cadoudal, Georges, iv. 80
Calonne, M. de, i. 196, 329, 332
—— ii. 2
—— iv. 182, 268, 303
Cambacérès, i. 38, 96
—— ii. 52, 57, 68, 192, 209, 248, 252
—— iii. 83, 89, 203, 243
—— iv. 357
Cambon, i. 29, 56, 79, 83, 85
—— ii. 70, 72, 81, 127, 160, 162, 177, 268, 271
—— iii. 270
—— iv. 12, 183
Cambrai, ii. 289
Campan, i. 189
Campo-Chiaro, Duke of, iv. 301
Camus, ii. 248
Canisi, ii. 164
Canova, iii. 306
Cannes, ii. 264
Canning, George, iv. 82
Canning, Strafford, iv. 81
Carnot, Hippolyte, i. 2
Carnot, Lazare, i. 66, 71, 86, 92, 94, 105, 173
—— ii. 88, 93, 104, 110, 114, 129, 144, 155, 168, 199, 285, 293
—— iii. 59, 82, 86, 91, 113
—— iv. 87, 259, 327
Carrel, Armand, iv. 106
Castellane, Marquis de, i. 258
Castlereagh, ii. 217, 327
—— iv. 82, 108, 300, 363, 364, 374
Cavaignac, ii. 270, 347
Cazalès, i. 42, 263
Ceracchi, iii. 98, 101, 109
Cerfberr, ii. 212
—— iii. 284
Chabot, ii. 233, 239
—— iv. 137, 332
Chabrol, iii. 166, 169
Chabroud, iv. 6
Chalabre, M. de, i. 298
Chaptal, ii. 127
—— iii. 204
Charles IV., iii., 137, 147

Charles X. (Count of Artois), i. 148, 151, 154, 198, 213, 216, 301, 352
—— ii. 2, 13, 69, 160
—— iii. 163, 183, 294
—— iv. 14, 40, 52, 70, 84, 163, 205, 236, 313, 371
Chassey, ii. 275
Chateaubriand, iv. 108, 253, 262
Châteauneuf, M. de, ii. 146
Châtelet, M. Achille du, i. 270
Chatham, Lord, iv. 106, 322
Chaudron, ii. 156
Chaumette, i. 110
—— ii. 239, 292, 300
Chazal, ii. 206
Chazet, Alissan de, iii. 155
Chénier, André, iv. 133
Chénier, J. M., ii. 29, 209
—— iv. 27, 110, 130, 134
Choiseul, i. 43, 336, 337
—— iv. 172, 375
Cicé, M. de, i. 231, 234
Clairfait, Count of, ii. 4, 289
—— iv. 158
Clauzel, ii. 154, 192, 196
—— iii. 6
Clément, iv. 136
Clermont-Tonnerre, Count of, i, 219
Cobourg, M. de, ii. 93, 281
Cochon de l'Apparant, ii. 101
Colbert, i. 329
—— iv. 50
Collot d'Herbois, i. 66, 70, 107, 109
—— ii. 32, 87, 90, 95, 177, 198, 210, 217, 220, 315
—— iii. 5, 11, 31
Committee of General Defence, ii. 62, 68
Committee of General Surety, ii. 97, 195, 246, 255, 270, 272
—— iii. 2
Committee of Public Safety, ii. 72, 87, 116, 195, 218, 246
Condé, Prince de, ii. 2, 135, 141, 144
—— iv. 62
Condorcet, i. 31, 63, 314, 335
—— ii. 92, 229, 238, 240, 265
—— iv. 134, 137, 335
Conegliano, Marshal de, iii. 169
Constant, Benjamin, iv. 138
Constant de Rebeque, iii. 199
Conti, Prince of, i. 356
Convention, the National, ii. 31, 103
Cordelier Club, ii. 244, 260
Cordier, iii. 346
Cotin, i. 351
Cottin, Madame, iii. 300
Courier, Paul Louis, iv. 24
Couteulx de Canteleu, M. le, ii. 166
Courtois, iii. 239, 346
Cousin, iv. 140
Couthon, i. 61, 66, 93, 94
—— ii. 87, 96, 107, 125, 140, 148, 164, 176, 183, 190, 273, 276
—— iii. 249
—— iv. 102
Créqui, i. 36
Cromwell, Oliver, i. 122
Crosne, M. de, i. 239, 289
Custine, General, ii. 269, 279

Dacier, iii. 168
D'Aguesseau, i. 178, 259
Daitec, ii. 225
D'Albarade, ii. 159
D'Albret, Antoine, i. 257
D'Alembert, iv. 269, 371
Dantin d'Ouront, iii. 129
Danton, i. 61, 65, 67, 85, 96, 103, 223
—— ii. 19, 30, 63, 72, 76, 79, 86, 99, 104, 169, 219, 229, 247, 260, 268, 271, 279, 289, 298 314, 328
—— iii. 20, 249
—— iv. 69, 101, 142
Danville, Madame, ii. 8
Daram, Abbé, i. 235
D'Argout, iv. 295
Darnaud, iii. 35
Darquier (astronomer), i. 202
Daunou, ii. 145
Daure, ii. 49, 58
David, i. 3, 35, 92, 103, 107, 150, 213, 249
—— ii. 118, 158
—— iii. 270, 281, 283, 288, 347
—— iv. 1, 50, 143, 237, 375
D'Avisard, Mademoiselle, ii. 148
Debry, Jean, i. 46
—— ii. 32, 70, 219, 248
—— iv. 148

Decazes, iii. 216, 219, 225, 239, 243
—— iv. 51, 56, 149, 192
D'Églantine, Fabre, ii. 21, 104, 238, 248
De Harlay, ii. 223
D'Herbigny, i. 133
Delaborde, General, iv. 154
Delavigne, Casimer, iv. 215
Delleville, Philippe, i. 107
—— ii. 137, 223
Delmas, ii. 72, 248, 254, 268, 270
Dembarrère, ii. 100
Demerville, iii. 98, 105, 112
—— iv. 38
De Montlosier, iv. 292
D'Enghein, Duke, iii. 124, 142, 172
—— iv. 64
Denon, i. 213
De Pradt, Abbé, iii. 156, 163
—— iv. 75
Dequesnoi, iii. 276
Desbet, ii. 101
Desenne (bookseller), i. 199
Desessarts, i. 188
Desforgues, i. 86
Desmarets, iii. 92
Desmoulins, Camille, ii. 105, 233, 247, 268, 271
—— iv. 155
Despaze, iv. 184
D'Esprémesnil, i. 32, 288, 350
—— iv. 8
Desroys, i. 185
Dessaix, iii. 92
—— iv. 224
Dessoles, General, iii. 212
D'Estaing, i. 234, 294
Devaux, Bertin, iv. 30
De Villèle, i. 42
Dillon (Archbishop of Narbonne), i. 202
Dillon, Arthur, ii. 269
Directory, the Executive, iii. 52
Dodier, Charles, iv. 148
D'Ormesson, ii. 350
D'Orset, ii. 119
Drouet, ii. 269, 296, 308
Droz, iv. 156
Dubois, iii. 100
Dubois-Crancé, ii., 149, 172
Duchâtelet, ii. 85
Duchesnois, Mademoiselle, iii. 307
Ducos, Roger, iv. 356
Dufourny, ii. 149
Dufresnoy, ii. 161
Dugommier, ii. 111
Dumolard, iii. 56
Dumont, André, i. 113
—— ii. 154, 190, 196, 210, 239, 318, 333
—— iii. 6
Dumouriez, i. 50, 51, 52, 75
—— ii. 4, 11, 15, 24, 43, 60, 63, 67, 71, 93, 246, 250, 257, 262, 283
—— iv. 157, 230, 342, 349
Dupin, ii. 98
—— iv. 162
Dupin, Charles, iv. 170
Dupin (Deputy of the Aisne), ii. 58
Dupont de Luz, i. 203
Dupont (of the Eure), i. 141, 149
—— iii. 210
—— iv. 14
Duport, iv. 7
Dupré, Edmond, iii. 233
Duras, Marshal de, iii. 325
Durègne, i. 181
Duroc, i. 131, 132, 134
—— iii. 122, 132
Dussault, ii. 199, 205, 294
Duvergies de Hauranne, iv. 170
Duvivier, iii. 243
—— iv. 171

Égalité (Duke of Orleans), i. 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 212, 250, 285
—— ii. 61, 71, 161, 232, 236
—— iii. 285, 311
—— iv. 162
England, tyranny of, i. 120
Erskine, iii. 115
Eschasseriaux, ii. 196
Esmenard, iii. 92, 108, 135
Espartero, General, i. 166

Fausseries de Gonez, Baron de, i. 204
Favart, General, iv. 342
Favras, Marquis of, iv. 41
Fayau, ii. 236
Fédy, iii. 33
Férès, i. 29
Fermon, iii 41
Fiévée, iii. 157, 160
—— iv. 150

FitzGerald, Pamela, i. 48
—— ii. 60
Fitzwilliam, Lord, i. 120
Flers, General, iv. 341
Fleurus, battle of, ii. 126
Fleury, iii. 146
Fonade, Jacques, iii. 50
Fonade (of Bordeaux), i. 127
Fonfrède, ii. 80
Foscolo, Ugo, i. 157
Fouché, ii. 202, 220
—— iii. 86, 104, 105, 109, 202, 211, 215, 225
—— iv. 91, 149, 171, 239, 259
Foulon, iv. 12
Fouquier-Tinville, ii. 163, 166
Fourcroy, i. 334
—— ii. 118
Fournier, ii. 67
Fox, Charles James, i. 202
—— iii. 115
—— iv. 175, 324, 386
Foy, General, i. 79
—— iv. 178, 206
Francis II. of Austria, ii. 4
François (of Nantes), iii. 91, 102
Franklin, iv. 215
Fréron, i. 78, 105, 110, 113
—— ii. 30, 108, 151, 172, 190, 199, 202, 220, 258, 287, 331
—— iii. 6, 251, 317
—— iv. 12, 89, 104, 182, 329, 354
Fréteau, i. 237
Frochot, i, 261

Garat, i. 141
—— ii. 79
—— iii. 105, 108
—— iv. 289
Gardanne, General, iii. 328
Garron, Coulon, iii. 14
Gasparin, ii. 91, 273, 277
Gauderat, Abbé, ii. 117
Genlis, Madame de, i. 48, 249
—— ii. 59
—— iii. 300
—— iv. 375
Gensonné, i. 65
—— ii. 37, 63, 229, 240, 248, 260, 301
George IV., iv. 300, 363
Gerando, iii. 204
Gex, i. 191
Girondists, i. 50, 55, 76, 96
—— ii. 34, 65, 78, 80, 190, 224
—— iv. 162
Gluck, iv. 185
Gohier, ii. 156
Goldsmith, Lewis, i, 68
—— ii. 132
Goltz, Count de, iv. 147, 364
Gontault-Biron, Count of, i. 176
Gossin, i. 258
Granet, ii. 198, 315
Granville, Lord, i. 130
—— iii. 87
Grégoire, i. 3, 16, 40, 41, 62, 67, 272
Grétry, iv. 185
Gretton, Lord, iii. 115
Grouchy, General, iii. 257
Guadet, i. 51, 62
—— ii. 37, 40, 60, 248, 260, 268
Guibert, Comtesse de, i. 126
—— iii. 74
—— iv. 372
—— Count of, i. 199, 336
—— iii. 307
Guizot, i. 153, 168
—— iv. 74, 104, 141, 192, 309
Guyton-Morveau, i. 83
—— ii. 63, 72, 122, 127, 129, 248, 297

Hamilton, Alexander, iv. 217
Harel, iii. 99
Hastings, Warren, iv. 177
Hébert, i. 110
—— ii. 239
Henriot, i. 61
—— ii. 76, 181
Hérault de Séchelles, i. 63, 67
—— ii. 77, 87, 115, 133, 273
Hermann, ii. 162
Hevas, iii. 161
History of the Committee of Public Safety, i. 74
Hoche, i. 120
—— ii. 140, 144
—— iii. 63
—— iv. 337
Holy Alliance, iii. 258, 282
Houchard (General), i. 15
—— ii. 100
Houdon, ii. 10, 119
—— iv. 202

Hubert (architect), ii. 121
Hugo, Victor, iv. 27, 203
Hullin, Count, iv. 66
Humbert, General, iii. 63
Hunting, royal, i. 244
Hytroff, iii. 124

Ibrahim Pasha, i. 168
—— iv. 55
Ingres, iv. 209, 387
Isabeau, i. 94, 192
Isnard, ii. 252
—— iv. 212
Izquierdo, ii. 46
—— iii. 114, 130, 138, 148, 152
—— iv. 275

Jacobins, ii. 57, 60, 80, 84, 96, 109, 149, 177, 244, 260, 291, 305
Jarente, Bishop de, ii. 137
Jefferson, i. 314
—— iv. 212, 226
Jemappes, ii. 62
Josephine Beauharnais, iii. 145
Joubert, iii. 77
—— iv. 356
Jourdan, ii. 93, 126, 130
Joussouf Bey, iv. 223
Jullien, i. 94, 141
—— lii. 202
Junot, Madame, iv.. 37

Keith, General, iv. 224
Kellermann, General, ii. 24
—— iv. 157, 341
Kemble, iii. 116
Kléber, iv. 223
Knights of the Dagger, i. 269
Kosciusko, iii. 287
—— iv. 226

Labédoyère, Colonel, iii. 220, 307
Laborde, iv. 8
Labourdonnaye, iii. 223
La Chalotais, iv. 226
Lacroix, ii. 63, 72, 76, 270, 274, 276
Lafayette, i. 128, 150, 224, 225, 231, 248, 275, 314
—— ii. 11, 23
—— iii. 214
—— iv. 142, 157, 161, 216, 227, 255, 285, 372, 382
Laffitte, iv. 180, 379
La Harpe, i. 136, 334
—— iv. 187, 279
Lally-Tollendal, Count de, i, 242
—— iv. 241, 243
Lamarck, iv. 290
La Marlière, General, ii. 278
Lamarque, ii. 264
—— iii. 86
—— iv. 245
Lamartine, iii. 288
—— iv. 248
Lambèse, Prince of, iv. 156, 276. 305
Lamennais, iv. 253
Lameth, Alexander, i. 200, 247, 249, 273
—— ii. 241
—— iv. 7, 229, 284
Lameth, Charles, i. 275, 278
—— iv. 7, 254
Lamoignon, M. de, i. 197, 291, 353
Languinais, ii. 233
—— iii. 212
Lannes, Marshal, iii. 142
Lapoype, General, ii. 154
Larévellière-Lépaux, iii. 59
Larochefoucauld-Liancourt, Duke of, i. 220, 225, 226, 248, 314
—— ii. 8
—— iii. 62
Larochefoucauld, M. Gaetan de, i. 226, 314
Lasource, ii. 251
"Last Day of the Old Monarchy," i. 30, 196
Latour, iii. 12
Latour-Maubourg, ii. 23
Lavalette, ii. 279
—— iii. 222
—— iv. 44
Lavalette, Madame, iv. 231
Lebas, ii. 126, 129, 140, 143, 174, 183, 198
—— iii. 249
—— iv. 336
Lebrun, iii. 91
Lebrun (of Dourdan), i. 177
—— ii. 314
Lebrun (of Tarbes), i. 169
Lechapellier, iv. 6
Lecointre, i. 106, 109

Lecointre ii. 177, 202, 211, 237
—— iv. 104, 345
Lecoq, i. 195
Lefauconnier, Marguerite, iii. 226, 228
Legendre, i. 8, 99, 114
—— ii. 78, 191, 235, 239, 274, 278, 318, 333
—— iii. 20
Leipzig, iii. 167
Lemark, M. de, iii. 310, 316
Le Mercier, iii. 38
Leopold of Austria, ii. 2
Lepelletier, iii. 235
—— iv. 8
Lesage (of the Eure et Loire), ii. 70
Letellier, i. 192
Letourneur, iii. 346
Lettres de cachet, i. 35, 175, 237, 241
Levasseur, iii. 347
Liberty of the press, i. 197
Lindet, i. 61, 67, 71, 83
—— ii. 70, 72, 81, 87, 115, 150, 198, 268, 272
—— iv. 101
Linguet, iii. 325
Locré, i. 44
Loftus, Mackenzie, iii. 115
Louis XI., iii. 326
Louis XII., i. 182
Louis XIV., i. 123, 192, 241, 264, 267
—— iii. 268, 277, 321, 330
Louis XV., i. 175, 177, 179, 242
Louis XVI., i. 45, 52, 54, 56, 79, 198, 213, 216, 219, 225, 245, 267, 279, 297 ,350, 356
—— ii. 1, 13, 16, 46
—— iii. 285, 311
—— iv. 48, 49, 142, 158, 186, 256, 283, 352
Louis XVII., Dauphin, i. 40, 272
—— ii. 152
Louis XVIII. (Count of Provence), i. 42, 53, 104, 128, 150, 178, 194, 198, 245, 299, 351, 356
—— iii. 158, 184, 212, 218, 227, 240, 243, 266, 271, 308, 327
—— iv. 13, 34, 39, 91, 105, 141, 149, 152, 163, 180, 236, 255, 272, 300, 306, 313, 362, 371
Louis Philippe, i. 54, 151
—— iii. 286
—— iv. 20, 31, 57, 71, 238, 369, 371
Lourdes, i. 203
Louvois, ii. 120
—— iv. 50
Lynch, iii. 174

Mack, ii. 6, 289
Macniven, Doctor, iii. 65
Madison, iv. 217
Mailhe, iii. 82
Mailly, Madame, ii. 97
Malesherbes, i. 57
—— ii. 49, 58, 164
—— iv. 256
Manuel, i. 238
—— iii. 219
—— iv. 258
Maquin, iv. 169, 382
Maragon (of the Aude), i. 82
—— iii. 348
Marais, M. du, ii. 147
Marat, i. 59, 61, 83, 110
—— ii. 34, 38, 68, 78, 243, 251, 258, 267, 328
—— iii. 135, 159
—— iv. 69, 182, 266, 333
Marausin, iii. 39
Maré, General, ii. 246
Marie Antoinette, i. 54, 216, 272, 298
—— ii. 15, 249, 296, 304
—— iii. 239, 310
Marie Josephe Louise of Savoy, i. 300
Marie Louise, Queen, iii. 182
Marie Thérèse of Savoy, i. 301
Marmont, Marshal, iv. 45, 59, 75
Marseillaise, the, i. 171
—— ii. 25
Martignac, iv. 266
Masséna, Marshal, i. 129
—— iii. 77, 113, 212
—— iv. 261
Massieu, iii. 346
Maubeuge, ii. 93
—— iii. 231
Maudru, ii. 136
Maupeou, Chancellor, i. 176, 197, 311, 330
Maurepas, M. de, i. 179, 330

Maury, Abbé, i. 229, 263
—— iv. 269
Mazarin, i. 241
—— iv. 17, 24
Mazzey, i. 313
—— ii. 158
Mehemet Ali, i. 165, 168
Menou, iv. 7, 225
Mercy, Count de, ii. 5
Merlin, ii. 93, 233, 307, 330
—— iii. 61, 238, 243
Merveille, Dominique de, iii. 2, 23
Metternich, iii. 217
—— iv. 173, 239, 259, 273, 363
Mignet, i. 22
Miollis, iii. 156
Mirabeau, i. 34, 35, 207, 215, 237, 258, 261, 275
—— ii. 9
—— iii. 248, 310
—— iv. 6, 87, 243, 262, 270, 278, 319, 352, 358, 366, 386
Miromesnil, M. Hue de, i. 179
Moleville, Bertrand de, ii. 35
Moncey, iii. 170
Monestier, ii. 101, 157, 172, 190
Monge, ii. 127, 129
Monk, General, iv. 123
Monnier, iv. 6
Mons, iii. 230, 233, 255
Montalivet, iii. 182
Montesquieu, i. 117, 121, 193, 237, 305
—— iii. 7, 52, 126, 257
Montgaillard, iv. 35, 64
Montholon, Mademoiselle de, iii. 77
Montholon, iv. 172
Montmorency, Matthew de, i. 264
Montmorin, iii. 285
Montrol, M. de, i. 265
Moore, Thomas, iv., 298
Moreau, i. 129
—— ii. 143
—— iii. 77, 126
—— iv. 300, 356
Morgan, Lady, iii. 299
Moscow, iii. 164
Mounier, i. 231, 233
Muffling, General, iii. 215
Murat, iii. 140, 143, 220
—— iv. 300
Musaire, iv. 151
Music in Belgium, iii. 267, 319
Myris, i. 249

Naguez, General, iii. 127
Naïs of Lavedan, i. 25
Napier, Commodore, i. 167
Narbonne, iv. 212, 241, 244
Necker, i. 32, 196, 201, 205, 211, 219, 233, 313, 327, 350, 355, 362
—— ii. 73, 109
—— iv. 6, 303
Neerwinden, i. 52, 75
—— ii. 67
—— iv. 158
Nesselrode, M. de, i. 168
—— iii. 217
Ney, Marshal, iii. 222, 273, 307
—— iv. 44, 48, 151, 306
Niquille, ii. 35
Noailles, Charles de, i. 185, 218, 247
Normandie, M. de, ii. 137
North, Lord, iv. 216

O'Connel, iv. 311
Odevaere, iii. 288
Oleron, iii. 6, 22
O'Meara, iv. 118
"Order reigns in Warsaw," i. 16
Orphanages, iii. 265
Ornano, iii. 107
Orthez, iii. 175
Oxford, Earl of, iv. 300

Pache, ii. 160, 232, 292, 311
Pacheco, iii. 280
Paganel, i. 94
Pahlen, M. de, i. 168
Paine, Thomas, i. 68
—— ii. 114, 229, 238
—— iii. 115
—— iv. 351
Paix, Prince de la, iii. 134, 142
Palmerston, Lord, i. 161, 164, 167
Palmieri, iii. 296
Paraza, M. de, ii. 145
Paré, ii. 45
Pascal, iv. 33
Pasquier, i. 153
—— iv. 245, 308
Pathay, Musset, iii. 313
Payen, ii. 109
Pégé, M., i. 203

Pelet (of the Lozère), ii. 217
Pémartin, ii. 192
Pépé, General, iii. 295, 299
—— iv. 250
Péré d'Arcibal, iii. 55
Perier, Casimir, i. 155
—— iii. 260
—— iv. 55, 128, 247, 312, 381
Pérignon, ii. 156, 161
Perlet, iii. 34
Perreau, iv. 55
Perregaux, ii. 127
Pétion, i. 50, 51, 229, 237, 248
Philips, Sir Richard, iii. 259
Pichegru, ii. 134, 141
—— iii. 9, 56, 126
—— iv. 64, 337
Piis, iii. 102, 104
Pitt, William, i. 83, 85, 164, 221
—— ii. 3, 81, 132, 184, 205, 288, 314
—— iii. 64, 117, 150
—— iv. 82, 107, 176, 268, 322, 374
Pius VI., iv. 271
Plater, Count, iii. 326
"Point du Jour," i. 34, 40, 213, 258
Polignac, iv. 58, 126
Pompignan, M. de, i. 187, 219
Poniatowski, i. 313
Ponsonby, Lord, i. 165
Porte, M. de la, ii. 40
Pouchard, ii. 48
Préville (comedian), i. 202
Price, Dr., i. 43, 315
Prieur (of the Côte-d'Or), i. 67, 69
—— ii. 88, 104, 129, 199, 285
—— iv. 88, 100, 327
Prieur (of the Marne), i. 67, 71, 92
—— ii. 87, 114, 248, 273, 277
Proly, Count de, ii. 128, 133
Protestants, i. 267
Puymaurin, M. de, i. 202

Quinault, iv. 186
Quinette, i. 46
—— ii. 32, 247, 264
—— iii. 346
—— iv. 259

Ramel, i. 79
—— ii. 161
—— iii. 95, 243, 270
—— iv. 183
Ramond, i. 248
Raout, iii. 231
Récamier, Madame, i. 136
Réga, iii. 337
Reinhard, iii. 65
Retz, Cardinal de, ii. 182
"Revue Encyclopédique," i. 7
Rewbel, iii. 59
Richelieu, Cardinal, i. 177, 241
—— iv. 363
Riquet de Bonrepos, ii, 148
Robert, iii. 347
Robespierre, i. 41, 42, 60, 61, 66, 69, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, 107, 280
—— ii. 11, 15, 30, 77, 96, 107, 110, 123, 139, 146, 148, 152, 163, 169, 172, 178, 181, 187, 189, 224, 247, 260, 276, 286, 293, 304, 314, 318, 328
—— iii. 249
—— iv. 12, 69, 331, 351
Roche de Montgaillard, iii. 160, 187, 189
Rodrigues, iii, 340
Roederer, i. 51, 248, 280
—— ii. 16
—— iii. 59, 91
—— iv. 231, 331
Rohan-Rochefort, Princess de, iii. 124
Roland, ii. 35, 232, 271, 281
Roland, Madame, iv. 69
Romiguières, i. 28
—— iii. 210
Ronsin, General, ii. 220
Rossina, iv. 188
Roubaud, iii. 348
Rouget de l'Isle, ii. 25
Rouhier, iii. 346
Rousseau, J. B. iii. 336
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, i. 9, 10, 111
—— iii. 313
—— iv. 129, 257, 361
Rovigo, Duke of, iii. 124, 127, 143, 153
—— iv. 65, 80
Royer-Collard, iv. 128
Rubens, iii. 289, 342
Ruhl, ii. 39
Russia and England, i. 159

Saint-André, Jean Bon, i. 66
—— ii. 87, 114, 272, 273, 277, 285, 296
Saintes, iii. 27

Sainte-Foy, M. de, ii. 43
Saint-Florentin, i. 175, 176
Saint-Genois, iii. 292
Sainte-Gudule, Cathedral, iii. 274
Saint-Just, i. 61, 63, 66, 93, 94, 99, 112
—— ii. 87, 97, 107, 110, 123, 129, 130, 139, 143, 145, 148, 152, 164, 168, 174, 178, 187, 190, 233, 268, 273, 320, 329
—— iii. 249
—— iv. 102, 333, 354
Saint-Priest, i. 261
Saladin, ii. 211, 213
Salicetti, ii. 112
Santerre, ii. 48, 99, 105
Savalette, i. 82
—— ii. 44, 158
—— iii. 2
Savornin, i. 143
—— iii. 346
Savoyards, iii. 335
Semonville, iv. 151
Servan, ii. 21, 65
Shelburne, Lord, iv. 322
Sieyès, i. 34, 106, 114, 209, 229, 247, 256, 261
—— ii. 29, 207, 211, 224, 229, 333
—— iii. 81, 250, 317
—— iv. 333, 351
Sillery, M. de, ii. 60, 71, 252
Smith, Sidney, iii. 65
Sneyders, iii. 289
Souberbielle, Dr., i. 69
Soucaze, i. 189
Soult, Marshal, iii. 176
—— iv. 261
Staël-Holstein, M. de, ii. 72
Staël, Madame de, i. 96, 130
—— iv. 69, 71, 94, 289, 305, 359, 360, 375
States-General, i. 33, 204, 207
Stopford, Admiral, i. 162, 167, 168
Subervic, General, i. 72
Suffien, i. 294

Tacitus, iii. 257
Talavera, iii. 149
Talleyrand, i. 150, 246, 248, 249, 273
—— ii. 20, 43
—— iii. 94, 102, 105, 110, 124, 132, 142, 181, 185, 217, 312
Talleyrand, iv. 92, 94, 173, 220, 238, 259, 270, 292, 318, 333, 362
Tallien, i. 78, 94, 105, 110
—— ii. 29, 30, 172, 179, 190, 195, 202, 222, 235, 318
—— iii. 6, 154, 250
—— iv. 89, 104, 329, 333, 354
Talma, iii. 146, 304, 318
—— iv. 121, 375
Tarbes, i. 25, 27, 33, 54, 117, 136, 148, 169, 175, 180, 203
—— ii. 9, 83, 157
—— iii. 55, 144, 206, 245
Target, i. 57, 178
—— ii. 59
Tarteyron, Isaac, ii. 83
—— iii. 54, 58, 76, 79, 89
Taschereau, Madame, i. 94
Taylor, Colonel, iii. 328
Tennis Court, Oath in, i. 213
Thiennes, iii. 234
Thierry, Augustin, iv. 311
Thiers, i. 22
—— iv. 16, 28, 252, 283, 309, 319, 375
Thouret, iv. 6
Thuriot, ii. 252, 272, 274, 285, 304, 309
—— iii. 228, 243
Times, The, i. 68
Tippoo Sahib, i. 31
Tissot, iv. 182
Torné, Bishop, ii. 213
Touche-Tréville, M. de la, ii. 71
Toulon, i. 76
—— ii. 111
Toulouse, i. 24, 25, 28, 117, 136, 176, 179, 191
Tour du Pin, Count de la, i. 200
—— iii. 236
Travanet, M. de, ii. 97
Treilhard, i. 83
—— ii. 72, 192
—— iii. 61, 91
—— iv. 269
Trouvé, ii. 111
Turgot, i. 43, 315, 331, 352
—— ii. 8
—— iv. 18

Vadier, ii. 210, 223
—— iii. 270, 347
Valazé, ii. 52

Valence (General), ii. 67, 71
Vanderkand, iii. 38, 43
Vanderweyer, iii. 291
Vandyck, iii. 289
Varennes, i. 40, 269
Vauban, iv. 96
Vaughan, Benjamin, i. 97
—— ii. 183
Veirieu, iii. 54
Venality of the magistracy, i. 35
Vendée, La, i. 86, 111
—— ii. 87, 99, 104, 109
—— iii. 41
Verdun, M. de, ii. 161
Vergniaud, ii. 37, 70, 81, 229, 244, 248, 260
Véron, iii. 187
Versailles, i. 292
Vieil-Castel, M. de, iii. 190
Vieuzac, i. 23, 195, 203
Villars (professor of anatomy), i. 181
Villèle, iv. 84, 125, 220, 275, 381
Villemain, iv. 141
Voisin, iii. 324
Voltaire, i. 114, 187
Voltaire, iv. 31, 131, 135, 190, 203, 257, 371

Wahlen, iii. 317
Walsh, iii. 22, 29
Washington, George, iv. 228, 283
Waterloo, iii. 257, 287
—— iv. 35
Wellington, i. 142
—— iii. 136, 149, 173, 176, 210, 229, 234, 241, 257, 264, 272
—— iv. 177, 239, 259, 306, 360, 363, 390
William, King of Holland, iii. 234, 236, 237, 242, 244, 263, 271, 304, 322, 332, 339
Wimpfen, General, ii. 285

York, Duke of, ii. 6, 37, 100, 324
—— iv. 76
Young's "Night Thoughts," i. 114, 136
—— iii. 21

Zatrapesnoff, iii. 122
Zenouwitz, iii. 287
Zinner, iii, 276

University of Toronto
Library

DO NOT
REMOVE
THE
CARD
FROM
THIS
POCKET

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File"
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU